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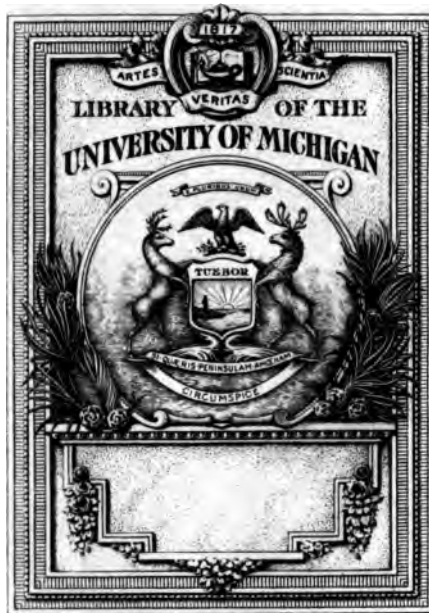
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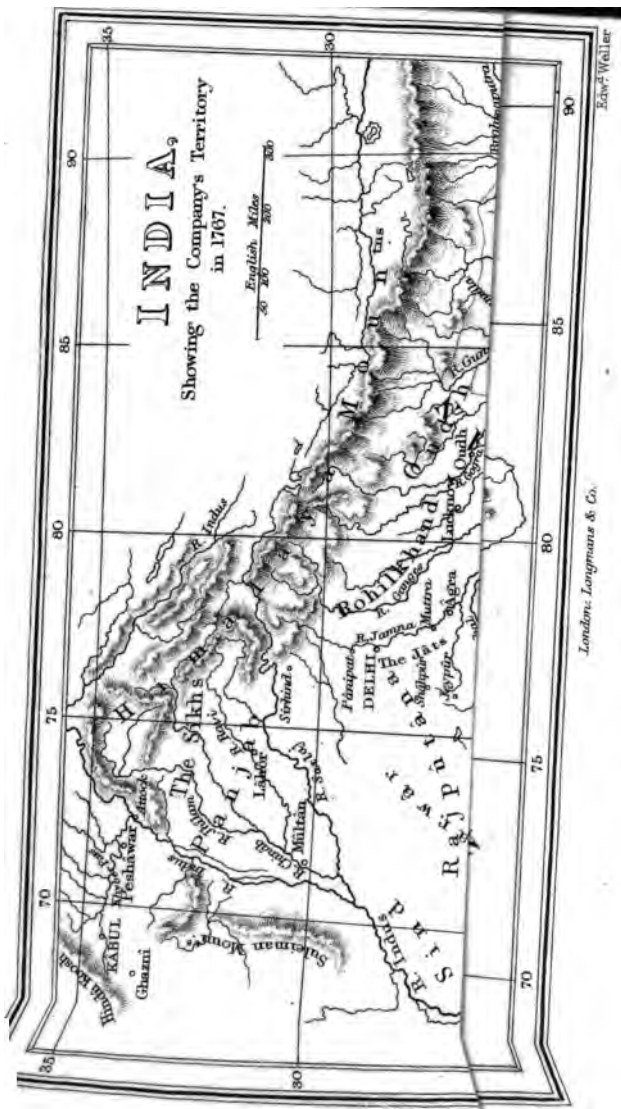
*LORD CLIVE*

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BOWEN

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**INDIA,**  
Showing the Company's Territory  
in 1767.

English Miles  
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# LORD CLIVE

BY

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY, <sup>1st</sup>  
<sub>baron, 1800-1859</sub> =

EDITED AND ANNOTATED

BY

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WITH A MAP

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1886

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the Publishers

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## PREFACE.

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THIS VOLUME, which contains Macaulay's Essay on Clive, is meant to be taken in conjunction with the one which is to follow, and which will contain the Essay on Warren Hastings. It is hoped that with the Introductions and Notes they will together form a tolerably adequate study of one of the most interesting periods in the history of India.

Owing to the fact that the Essays were written for the pages of a popular Review,<sup>1</sup> it was perhaps inevitable that more than one portion of them should be sketched on lines at once too general and too popular to be of great use to a student, unless supplemented by a more particular account. The description of the decline of the Mogul power, for instance, is much too indefinite, and the references to the Mahrattas are even misleading. The reader not possessed of any knowledge of these subjects outside the Essays would be liable to form a wrong impression of the nature and causes of the Mogul decline; while he would be in danger of

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, January 1840 and October 1841, respectively.



learning to regard the Mahrattas as a wandering body of marauding horse, instead of as forming a tolerably compact commonwealth, and as the really predominant power in India at the time of Clive's arrival ; and, further, the omission from the narrative of the crushing defeat of the Mahrattas at Pânipat, in 1761, renders the progress of the English harder to understand than need be. I have, therefore, endeavoured to give in the Introduction a tolerably full and, I hope, clear account of the course of Mogul dominion, and of the rise and progress of Mahratta rule. I have added also, for the sake of completeness, a brief sketch of the rise of European power in India.

Reference to any history of India within the reach of the ordinary student would have rendered most of my Introduction needless ; but as yet none such exists. It is to be hoped that Mr. Sidney Owen's long promised history will some day fill the gap. The books which I have found of most *direct* help are—Dr. Pope's 'Text-book of Indian History,' an admirable storehouse of well-arranged facts ; Murray's 'History of British India,' ably written, but somewhat antiquated ; Mr. Sidney Owen's brilliant sketch of 'India on the eve of British Conquest,' and Elphinstone's scholarly 'History of India.'

In the Notes, to avoid confusion, I have followed almost entirely Lord Macaulay's spelling. In the *Introduction* I have endeavoured to bring into use the

more accurate spelling of modern scholarship, and have chosen as my chief guide Dr. Pope, the Principal of Bishop Cotton's Grammar School and College at Bangalore. The question of the right representation of the vowel-sounds is not yet finally settled, but I believe the following list to be fairly correct, as far as the spelling I have used is concerned :

|                                                                     |                                                         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>a</i> final is sounded as the final <i>a</i><br>in <i>data</i> . | <i>i</i> in the middle of a word as in<br><i>pity</i> . |
| <i>a</i> in the middle of a word as in<br><i>glad</i> .             | <i>i</i> as the second <i>i</i> in <i>imbecile</i> .    |
| <i>d</i> as in <i>father</i> .                                      | <i>o</i> as in <i>on</i> .                              |
| <i>e</i> as in <i>send</i> .                                        | <i>ô</i> as in <i>ore</i> .                             |
| <i>ê</i> as the double <i>e</i> in <i>seen</i> .                    | <i>u</i> as in <i>put</i> .                             |
| <i>i</i> final as <i>y</i> in <i>pity</i> .                         | <i>û</i> as in <i>rude</i> .                            |

The Glossary at the end of the Notes is intended as an assistance to such as make etymology a part of their study. It is hoped that it may induce them to pay still further attention to the subject; for a knowledge of the history and nature of words can never fail to increase the interest of every kind of reading, and to give the reader a greater mastery over every kind of language.

My best thanks for careful revision of proof-sheets, and for many useful hints, are due to Mr. J. W. Hales, Mr. C. S. Jerram, Mr. C. Kegan Paul, Mr. H. G. Bowen, and especially to Mr. R. B. Gardiner, of St. Paul's School.

H. COURTHOPE BOWEN.

*February 1877.*



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MAP OF INDIA, SHOWING THE EAST INDIA

COMPANY'S TERRITORY IN 1767 . . . to face Title-page



## INTRODUCTION.

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### THE RISE OF EUROPEAN POWER IN INDIA.

THE rise of European power in India, or at any rate the events which led to the rise of such power, may be dated from the early expeditions of the Portuguese to the East towards the close of the fifteenth century. Not content with the discovery of Madeira in 1420 and of the Cape de Verde Islands in 1460, but rather stimulated by these successes, the navigators of this adventurous nation had set their minds on completing the circuit of the continent of Africa. It was in 1486 that Bartholomew Diaz, admiral of the Por-  
tuguese fleet, sailed by command of King Bartholomew Diaz. John II., and after perilous but determined endeavours rounded the southernmost point, and called it the Cape of Storms—a name which the king, elated with his success and taking a somewhat bolder view of the future, quickly changed to the Cape of Good Hope. It was not long before this view received a complete justification. In 1497 the king's cousin and successor, Emmanuel I., the patron of sea adventure,

and the real pioneer of the way to India, fired by the successes of Columbus in the West, equipped and dispatched an expedition under Vasco da Gâma to push on still further to the East. This able and fortunate man, sent forth with the cheers of all the people of Lisbon, in four months, without storm or danger, reached the Cape, and rounding it put in at Melinda, on the eastern coast, for a pilot to guide his ships across the Indian Ocean. On May 11, in 1498, he cast anchor off Calicut on the coast of Malabar. Little could the natives then have thought what the splash and grappling of that anchor meant for them, however much they might be struck by the aspect, manners, and arms of the strangers, so unlike those of the foreigners who commonly frequented the port. To the immediate north of Calicut the harbours were held by the Hindû Râja of Bîjanagar, a Muhammadan kingdom almost coinciding with the modern presidency of Madras; while still further up the coast the district called the Konkan, between the Western Ghâts and the sea from Bombay to Goa, formed the kingdom of Bîjapûr. On the throne of Delhi sat Sikander, the second of the imperial house of Lôdî, and Bâber was still struggling valiantly to the west of the Indus. Calicut itself was ruled by a Zamorin, the most powerful of the petty Hindû Râjas of those parts, and was a place of extensive traffic. Da Gâma landed with great pomp, and was received with kindness by the Zamorin; but the jealousy and artifices of the Muhammadan traders from Arabia, Egypt, and the eastern coast of Africa, who at that time trafficked with every part of India, Africa, and the Mediterranean, effectually checked the progress of the Portu-

guese at court ; so that Da Gâma, finding his armament insufficient, returned to Portugal, and re-entered the Tagus in regal pomp on August 29, 1499. The king received him with due honour, and declared him "Admiral of the Indian, Persian, and Arabian Seas."

Before the year was out another expedition, consisting of thirteen ships and 1,200 men, was equipped and entrusted to Alvarez Cabral. He was accompanied by eight friars, and had instructions to convert the natives with fire and sword and the gospel. On his passage out, sailing too far to the West, he discovered by a fortunate accident the coast of Brazil, and landing, claimed the country in the name of his king. He arrived at Calicut in September 1501, and was received with kindness. Jealousies and ill-feeling, however, soon sprang up; and these were not abated by the conduct of Cabral and his missionaries. Massacres were exchanged, and Cabral having bombarded Calicut, withdrew to Cochin, and afterwards to Cannanûr; at both of which places he was well received, for their râjas were at enmity with the Zamorin. In July 1501 the Portuguese expedition returned to Lisbon. Vasco da Gâma was sent out immediately to avenge its imagined wrongs, but only contrived to strike a vague terror of his nation into the natives of the Malabar coast, and to sully his name by his many atrocious cruelties.

As far as India was concerned these expeditions had accomplished nothing but the sowing of feud and future distrust. But for Portugal they had gained the command of the Eastern seas, and secured to her the monopoly of the Indian trade, which now deserved



the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and found its way to Europe only round the Cape ; and Venice, Genoa, and Amalphi saw with dismay the great stream of wealth turned aside entirely from their ports.

The two brothers, Alphonso and Francisco Albuquerque and Saldanha, sailed for the Indies in 1504, and arrived off the Malabar coast in time to rescue the Râja of Cochin, whom the Zamorin had attacked and driven from his capital for the countenance he had afforded the Portuguese on a former occasion. Finding it, however, impossible to arrange matters with the Zamorin, the Albuquerques returned to Europe, leaving the fleet under the command of Duarte Pacheco, a valiant and clever leader. He, by his many exploits, and especially by his famous defence of Cochin against overwhelming odds, finally proved to the nations of the West that no native force, however courageous, could stand against the skill of European officers and the disciplined valour of European troops. But though his military skill and clear-sighted policy tended greatly to raise the name of Portugal in the East, Pacheco soon met with the reward which their country two centuries later bestowed on Dupleix and La Bourdonnais. When his fortune had been spent in his country's service, false accusations were brought against him, and he was sent home loaded with chains ; and, though in the end honourably acquitted, he was left to die in obscurity. His successor, Lope Soares, soon followed him to Europe, having by his overbearing conduct destroyed all chance of a settlement with the ruler of Calicut.

*The power of Portugal, however, had been so far established on the seas and along the western coast that*

in 1505 a *Viceroy of India*, Francisco Almeyda, was sent out to direct and extend his country's interests. Under him trade rapidly increased, and with trade the authority of the Portuguese name. Almeyda, the first viceroy. 1505-1508. He received a magnificent embassy from Bijanagar, the Râja bestowing on him costly presents, and offering his daughter in marriage to Prince John, King Emmanuel's son. But such success did not fail to rouse the jealousy of the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, who, instigated by Venice and aggrieved by the decrease in his own commerce, dispatched a fleet against the new viceroy, and after a severe contest of two days defeated him off Chaul, thirty miles south of Bombay. This action is chiefly memorable for the heroic death of Almeyda's son, and for the courtesy with which the vanquished were treated by the King of Gujarât. In 1507, Almeyda discovered Ceylon, and in the following year was superseded by Albuquerque, the second viceroy. 1508-1515. Alphonso Albuquerque, who now landed for the second time in India filled with ardour to outdo the achievements of all his predecessors. Almeyda refused to yield to the new viceroy, and sailed on an expedition to avenge the death of his son ; an object which he accomplished, though with much cruelty. In 1509 he gained a great victory off Diû, which put an end to the designs of the Sultan, and completely established the supremacy of Portugal in the Arabian Gulf. On his return to Cochin immediately afterwards, he was persuaded to resign his office to Albuquerque, and sailing for Europe ignominiously fell in a scuffle with a band of Hot-tentots on the African coast.

The name of Albuquerque is the greatest in the history of Portuguese conquest in the East. From the first he burned with the desire of accomplishing no less than the reduction of all India beneath the sway of Portugal. Nor was the position of affairs unfavourable to his design. The Bâhmini kingdom of the Dakhan was being torn to pieces by its viceroy. The Muhammadan empire north of the Nerbudda was already in that state of utter disorganization which not long afterwards tempted Bâber to his career of conquest. The first attempt of the new viceroy was an attack on Calicut, in which he nearly lost his life. But scarcely had he recovered from his wounds when he abandoned the capture of Calicut for that of Goa. Here he was unsuccessful at first; but eventually in 1510 he accomplished his object, and thus gained a spacious harbour for his fleets and a city which might well serve as a basis for his plans of victory and colonisation. Forthwith he dispatched embassies to the native states, and received their envoys with a pomp that surpassed even the pomp of India. He also encouraged marriages with native families of distinction; and these were celebrated in large numbers and with a somewhat laughable confusion. The island of Ormuz, which commands the Persian Gulf, next engaged his attention. On his voyage from Europe he had succeeded in rendering its king for a time tributary, but had soon been obliged to abandon the fruits of his victory. He now fitted out a magnificent expedition, and contrived with no great trouble to wrest the island from its ruler. He then *established a city* on this important spot, which ere

long became the centre of the trade between India, Persia, and Western Asia. An attempt on Aden immediately afterwards failed. Then turning his thoughts to the further East, he resolved to found another emporium amidst the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Malacca was the spot fixed upon; and in 1511 it was taken, after hard fighting, from its Malay founders. His policy here was the same as on former occasions. He strove to unite the natives and his countrymen by common interests, and treated his new subjects with kindness and forbearance. He despatched embassies to Siam, Java, and Sumatra. But his brilliant career was drawing to a close. He was growing old, and his health was giving way. On his voyage to Goa he was met by the sudden news that he had been superseded by Lope Soarez, a man whom above all others he hated. This act of ingratitude broke his heart. He died ere he reached land, and amidst the lamentations of the natives and of his countrymen was buried with great pomp in the settlement, where a splendid monument still attests his greatness.

Lope  
Soarez.  
1515.

The Portuguese power in the East may now be said to have reached its greatest height; for only a few points on the remoter coast of Africa, and two or three settlements on the shore of Coromandel were afterwards added. Among these that of Bombay was obtained in 1530. As the historian Faria y Sousa boasted of his countrymen, their dominion stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to the frontiers of China, along 12,000 miles of coast. But it was in no sense a territorial dominion, for they possessed in all perhaps not

more than thirty factories. It was the far more command of the Eastern seas, with the entire of a most lucrative trade. The rest of their history is mainly the history of a desperate struggle to gain their ground against the natives, whom their arrogant, bigoted, and persecuting spirit had filled with bitterest hatred, and against the Dutch whom persecution had forced into heroism and drive.

Nunho the sea. In 1534 Nunho Cunha, Portuguese viceroy, took Diû and but the former place was only finally established as a factory in 1536. Soon afterwards Damân was

In 1541, the great Apostle of the Francis Xavier. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) landed in India, and preached, baptised, and founded the missions which still survive along the southern coast. The effects of his work are also still to be seen in Malacca, in the Spice Islands and in Japan. But, though in 1545 Juan de Castro held Diû successfully against the king of Gujarât, and in 1571 Louis de Cetaide saved Goa after a ten months' siege from the combined forces of Bijapûr, Ahmednagar, and Calicut, the progress of decay was making itself plainly felt in all the Indian governments of Portugal—in the governments of Ceylon, of Goa, and of Malacca.

On the death of Don Sebastian, Philip II. seized on the crown of Portugal, and from 1580 to 1640 that country felt the numbing effects of Spanish sway. During that period, though at times in this or that place, there flashed out somewhat of the old daring and heroism, Portuguese power and Portuguese *prestige gradually declined* ; her colonies languished, *and her sceptre passed into the hands of the Dutch.*

In 1662 the degenerate successors of Albuquerque and De Castro are seen trembling before the guerilla chieftain Sivajî, paying the *chout* (or fourth part of the revenues) to him and his Mahrattas; or, again, resisting them with spasmodic bravery, and rivalling them in deeds of violence; till in 1739, this astonishing and rapidly increasing Hindu power—with no small cause for triumph—took, after a terrible siege, the stronghold of Bassein, and sealed once for all the fate of Portuguese supremacy. Nor did those, who for more than a century had ruled the Eastern seas, experience less of humiliation at the hands of the new Vikings. In 1607 the Dutch had seized the Moluccas; in 1640, Malacca; while in 1656 the same untiring foe drove their rivals completely out of the fertile island of Ceylon. But this was not all. In the western provinces, the Portuguese found themselves face to face with the English. Nor did all their influence at the Court of the Mogul save them from being gradually supplanted in Surat and other parts of Gujarât by the superior power and policy of these formidable interlopers. An expedition undertaken by Shah Abbas, king of Persia, conjointly with the English, deprived them of Ormuz in 1622; and the Imâm of Muscat, seconded by the natives, stripped them of well-nigh all their possessions on the coast of Africa. Thus did their vast dominion dwindle down and decay even more rapidly than it had grown up; till of all their flourishing factories on the islands and the mainland of India there are left to them only Goa, and the insignificant stations of Damân and Diû; while the sleepy, lank scribes, with yellow eyes and yellow cheeks, who

in their white jackets and washed-out trousers, haunt, umbrella under arm, the crowded bazaars of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, form a somewhat stern commentary on the unwise attempt to mingle races so entirely different.

It may not be without some use briefly to summarise the leading causes of this strange decline. No doubt the crushing weight of Philip's hand, and the wonderful perseverance and enterprise of the Dutch, had much to do with it, for the Portuguese power depended almost entirely on the supremacy of the sea, and when this passed into other hands their power inevitably fell into decay. But there were other and as serious causes still of which it would be well to take account. The conquerors had from the first attempted to force their religion on the conquered. The Inquisition had been imported into India as early as 1526; and no means of sword, or faggot, or even more brutal contempt, had been spared to effect its purpose. Such conduct could not but hopelessly alienate the better classes of Indians, who were more enlightened and far more humane than their conquerors, and especially those who claimed such a man as the great Akbar as their chief. Nor were their savage methods applied only to the natives; they were extended also to the Christians of Travancore. This conduct, combined with their constant cruelty from first to last, deprived them of all chance of ever obtaining that reputation for wisdom and kindness without which no dominion of a few over countless multitudes can ever be expected to endure. When we add another cause as serious *as any*—the rapacious conduct and the incapacity of

the successors of the first great viceroys, the result is not hard to understand ; while the position of Clive on his arrival in India in 1765 gains in interest for us from the similarity of the causes then threatening the Company's ruin.

Though the rise of Dutch power in the East contributed so greatly to the downfall of Portugal, yet as the sea-kings of Holland never formed any important or extensive establishment on <sup>The Dutch in the East.</sup> the continent of India, it will not be necessary here to give more than a bare outline of their doings in these parts. The Dutch had no sooner freed themselves from the tyranny of Spain in 1609 and obtained a twelve years' truce from Philip III., than they turned their attention vigorously to the Eastern trade. But they had already laid a sure foundation of future success. Not venturing to make use of the route round the Cape of Good Hope, they had thrice between 1580 and 1590 attempted to find a way to India and China round the northern coast of Asia. But this hope failing, they at last determined to risk the enmity of Portugal, and in 1594 dispatched by the Cape route to the Eastern Archipelago four ships under one Cornelius Houtmann, who had obtained the necessary information during a long residence at Lisbon. After a tedious voyage he arrived off Bantam, in the island of Java, without encountering any important opposition or obstruction. He was well received at first, but afterwards, having behaved with violence and having quarrelled with the king, he returned to Europe. The original Company, augmented by one more recently formed, sent out early in 1599 no fewer than eight ships under



the joint command of Houtmann and Van Neck. This expedition was eminently successful, and four of the vessels soon returned from the coasts of Java and Sumatra laden with spices and other valuable commodities. This auspicious beginning encouraged the Dutch to prosecute the Indian trade with the utmost activity. In 1600 they sent out as many as forty vessels, and by their superior diligence and punctuality soon supplanted the Portuguese in the spice market. Commercial competition now began to change to undisguised war, and the Malays, incited and helped by the Dutch, drove their masters out of Acheen. In 1605 the Dutch openly expelled the Portuguese from Sidor and Amboyna, committing at the latter place a massacre which included ten Englishmen and nine Japanese, and which cast a dark stain upon their victory. They were now supreme in the Eastern seas, and before long, as we have seen, seized on the Moluccas. In 1640 followed the occupation of Malacca, and in 1656 the conquest of the island of Ceylon. We need not follow the further extension of their power. On the mainland of India their chief settlements were Negapatam (taken from Portugal in 1660), Sadras, Pulicat, and Bimlipatam, of which Pulicat was taken by the English in 1795, and the rest fell into the same hands by the treaty of Versailles in 1783.

As might have been expected, the example of these great exploits performed by the two first naval powers of the world was not lost upon the nation, which, at the close of the sixteenth century, was rapidly rising to the position of second,

The English  
in India.

and was soon to become chief monarch of the sea. Nor does it appear that hope of trade alone, rather than love of enterprise and a thirst for wonders, drew the first ships of English adventurers to the shores of India. Following the example of the Dutch, attempts were made by Sir Hugh Willoughby, by Richard Chancellor, and by others, to find a North-East passage, and with a like result. Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson strove manfully, but in vain, to find a way round the Northern coast of America; while others again endeavoured unsuccessfully to establish a route across the Russian and Persian empires, penetrating even as far as the ancient town of Bokhara. But though at length it became evident that no path, except that already in use, was likely to be practicable, still the fear of coming too closely into collision with the powerful King of Spain and Portugal, forced the English for a while yet to try other ways of reaching the desired goal. It was with this object that Francis Drake started on his celebrated voyage round the southern point of South America, in 1577; and that Thomas Cavendish followed in his track in 1586. But these brilliant voyages, though admirable enough as naval exploits, were far too costly to encourage commercial enterprise across the sea in this direction. So once more a land route was attempted—this time through Syria, past Aleppo and Bagdad, to the Persian Gulf, and thence by Ormuz to the shores of Malabar. The leading men of this undertaking of 1583 were John Newbery and Ralph Fitch, who bore with them two letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Great Mogul

(the Emperor Akbar) and to the King of China. At Goa they fell in with Thomas Stevens of New College Oxford, who had started four years earlier. The adventures of these men, and of Storey and Leedes the jeweller, the last of whom took service under the emperor, excited much interest at the time; but, though the journal of Fitch especially is well worth reading even now, to enter into the subject at any length would be foreign to our present plan. Suffice it to say that the expedition was executed in a manner creditable to the adventurers, and that much valuable information respecting the trade and commodities of the country was collected. Nevertheless, it became only plainer than ever that commerce carried on by a route so intricate, and exposed to so many perils, could be neither safe nor profitable. It was in fact one of the chief channels by which the Venetians had conducted their traffic; and they, though much better situated than the English, had yet been quite unable, since the discovery of the passage by the Cape, to make head against the competition of the Portuguese. Accordingly, three ships were sent out by the Cape route in 1591, under Captains Raymond, Kendal, and Lancaster. Nothing could have been more unfortunate than this expedition. Kendal had to return from the Cape with a cargo of invalids; Raymond's ship foundered with its crew in a storm off Cape Corrientes; and Lancaster, after performing successfully many daring acts of piracy, was driven on his home voyage, in 1593, to take refuge on the island of *Trinidad*, and passing thence in evil plight through

First Eng-  
lish expedi-  
tion round  
the Cape.

the West Indies, was rescued at the Bermudas by some French vessels, and conveyed to Dieppe.

The disastrous issue of this attempt cooled for a while the ardour of English enterprise. But once more the spirit of commercial emulation was stirred, in 1599, by the successes of the Dutch; and on the 31st of December 1600 The East India Company founded. a company, the most extraordinary as to its constitution and fortunes that was ever formed, was incorporated by Royal charter. Elizabeth not only fully sanctioned the undertaking, but even sent out John Mildenhall as ambassador to the Great Mogul, to solicit the necessary privileges. No great enthusiasm seems to have been shown at the time. The promoters of the scheme proved that spices, indigo, and silk could be bought in Malabâr for one-third of the price that we were giving in Aleppo or Alexandria; but money came in slowly. Twenty-four directors and a governor were elected, and the first "Chairman of the Court of Directors" was Thomas Smythe, Esq.; the first governor, George, Earl of Cumberland. The charter was granted for fifteen years, but was liable to be annulled at any time on two years' notice.

The first expeditions were confined to Sumatra, Java, and the Molucca and Banda islands, whence pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and other spices were obtained. But as no landing was effected on the continent, they are not of immediate interest to us, except that in 1602 Lancaster, who has been before mentioned, negotiated a commercial treaty at Bantam on *satisfactory* terms. In 1608 Captain Hawkins

arrived at Sûrat, whither he was followed next year by Sir H. Middleton; and here the Company's first factory was established, in 1611. In the same year the Emperor Jehângîr granted the English permission to establish four factories in his dominions, though the firman bears only the date of 1613. Expeditions now began to follow one another in rapid succession, and year after year the Company grew in wealth and importance. After eight of these expeditions, omitting the unfortunate voyage of Sharpey, an average profit of 171 per cent. had been realised; a result, as Mr. Mill seems to forget, in no small measure due to the piratical methods by which the cargoes were often obtained. Indeed, the commerce of India was now fast becoming an object of national importance. So much so that in 1615 James I. dispatched Sir Thomas Roe on his famous embassy to the court of the Great Mogul. Sir Thomas was kindly received, and gave a glowing account on his return of all the splendours and pomp of Eastern power, and the degradations of Eastern rule; but he effected nothing of lasting importance. He warned his countrymen, that the vacillating and capricious engagements made with him were literally worthless, while he plainly pointed out that all real success must have to depend on such arrangements as might be made with local magistrates and merchants.

About this time, in order to avoid a disastrous competition with the Dutch, an attempt was made to form a partnership between the Companies of the *two nations*. But after much bickering and jealousy,

the massacre of Amboyna finally put an end to this system of united traffic. In 1616 we find the English holding factories at Sûrat, at Calicut, Masulipatam, and Ajmîr on the continent, with Bantam in the island of Java as their acknowledged head. In 1622 took place the expedition against Ormuz, which from that time gradually sank till it became a place of entire insignificance. But the year 1624 The Company becomes a ruler. was rendered remarkable by an event of far greater importance in the history of the Company. The power to punish its servants even by death was granted to it ; and the body of joint-stock traders thus became a body of rulers ; a body with laws and crimes of its own ; an independent power in the Eastern world. Nor was the permission to trade with Bengal, which was granted in this year, an event of slight moment, even though the traffic was restricted to the one port of Pipli, in Midnâpûr. In 1625, to avoid the rivalry of the Dutch and the oppressions of the native government, Pulicat was abandoned, and a factory stationed at Armogam, between Pulicat and Nellore. But in 1639 the situation of this new emporium being considered unfitted for increasing the Company's commerce, Mr. Francis Day, one of the council at Masulipatam, selected Madras- Madras, 1639. patam in its stead, as better fitted for the purchase of "piece goods," muslins from Dacca and cottons from the Dakhan ; while the Naig of the district offered to erect a fort at his own cost, and to exempt the English from all customs on trade, if they would only settle there. The fort when erected was called *St. George* ; the town retained its native desig-

nation of Madras, and became in 1653 the head of a separate presidency. We should not forget to mention, in passing, the name of Mr. Boughton, a surgeon and the English resident at Sûrat, who by his skilful treatment of the daughter of the Emperor Shâh Jehân in 1636 and his patriotism in choosing his reward, gained for his countrymen several valuable privileges. In 1640 a factory was erected at Hûgli, situated on that branch of the Ganges which has always been considered the principal channel for the trade of the river. In 1657 and 1661 respectively, Cromwell and Charles II. granted the Company renewed charters, the former, characteristically enough, objecting to the monopoly, and being with difficulty persuaded. Strangely too do these names remind us that, while our merchants and "gentlemen adventurers" were slowly and unconsciously laying the foundations of our great empire in the East, at home our merchants and country gentlemen were fighting out for themselves and for Europe the cause of liberty and right government. Well may we be proud of such a proof of indomitable pluck and energy.

The defence of Sûrat in 1664 against Sivajî and his Mahrattas by Sir G. Oxenden, governor of Bombay (which Charles II. had obtained with his wife in 1662), tended greatly to raise the reputation of the English arms, and so far excited the admiration and gratitude of the Emperor Aurungzêb, that in 1667 he remitted certain duties and charges, which had been payable by our traders to the imperial treasury. In Bombay, 1668. Bombay was made over by the King of *England to the Company*, and became a separate

presidency, and fifteen years later the chief seat of British government in India,—an honour which had previously been held by Sûrat. In 1691, Fort St. David was established at Tegnapatam; in 1696 the villages of Chuttanatti, Calcutta, and Govindpûr were purchased from Azîm-u-Shân, the grandson of Aurungzîb; and two years afterwards, at the second of these posts, a fort was ordered to be built, <sup>Calcutta,</sup> and called Fort William in honour of King <sup>1698.</sup> William III. In 1698 the “English” East India Company was started as a rival to the old “London” Company; but after a disastrous competition of four years it was amalgamated by King William with the older Company under the title of “the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies;” and this continued to be the designation down to the year 1833.

For many years, and indeed until 1756, Calcutta suffered greatly from the exactions of the Nuwâb of Mûrshedâbâd, and its history is the record of the repeated efforts of British merchants to resist them. But in 1715 a deputation was sent to the Emperor Farokhshîr to secure a greater degree of protection; and it was so far successful, that Calcutta was immediately declared a separate presidency.<sup>1</sup> The empe-

<sup>1</sup> It may be as well to explain here the meaning of the term *presidency*. The establishment of each principal and independent seat of trade consisted of *merchants*, senior and junior, who conducted the trade; *factors*, who ordered goods, inspected and dispatched them; and *writers*, who were clerks and book-keepers. A writer after five years became a factor, after three years more a merchant. From the senior merchant



ror moreover made the Company a grant of territory, the expediency of accepting which was very doubtful in the eyes of the directors ; for, said they, "as our business is trade, it is not politic for us to be encumbered with much territory." At the same time, however, the heads of the presidencies were encouraged to proceed with all works of a *defensive* character—all *offensive* warfare being quite foreign to their plans. Injunctions, we find, were continually given to the Company's servants to be just, humane, unostentatious, and economical ; but, as Lord Macaulay points out, the directors, from the salaries they paid their servants, too often drove them into a course of conduct in which economy became impossible, or at least a serious trial, while the fulfilment of the expectations, which they took care to let their servants know they entertained, often rendered the setting aside of justice and humanity unavoidable. Indeed, their advice to avoid private extravagance seems to have been chiefly prompted by the selfish fear that "in some manner or other they would have to pay for it." Mr. Mill gives it as his opinion that, as early as 1689, dominion and the increase of revenue were aimed at as much as trade ; but in this, we think, he is mistaken. Yet there are sure enough signs of this aim twenty or thirty years later ; and, in spite of professions, or perhaps unconsciously, *presidencies* became *provinces* ; merchants gave way to governors ; and profits were replaced by revenue.

the members of council were chosen, and one of these last was selected as *president* of the factory. Soldiers, sepoys, and *peons* (native labourers) completed the establishment—See Dr. *Pope's Text-Book of Indian History*, p. 247.

In 1725 died Jafîr Khân, the Nuwâb of Bengal, and was succeeded by his son Shuja-ud-dîn-Khân, one of whose omrahs, or nobles, was the celebrated All-Vardî-Khân. In 1742, the Mahrattas attacked Bengal, demanding *chout*, and the "Mahratta Ditch" was dug to afford protection against a repetition of the attack. But we have now arrived at the period at which Lord Macaulay takes up his masterly narrative, and so, without proceeding further, we turn to consider the growth of that power in India, our struggle with which he so admirably describes.

As early as the year 1604, and during the next sixty years, various French companies were formed, and various expeditions were made, to trade with the East. But the first real establishment of a French East India Company took place in 1664, and was due to the exertions of the celebrated Colbert. It was prompted by the ambition of Louis XIV., who declared that to trade with India was not beneath the dignity of a noble. This company, which was destined to flourish 105 years, was founded on principles which had little relation to the principles of political economy. State subvention to trade is not yet obsolete in France; but in the year 1664 it assumed the extravagant form of the government engaging to make good all losses which the company might sustain in the first ten years—an engagement which in fact subjected the state to the payment of a large sum. Moreover the traders were exempted from all taxes, and received an exclusive charter for fifty years. The first attempt,

The French  
in India.

First French  
East India  
Company,  
1664.

which was to colonise Madagascar, proved disastrous.

But in 1668 a settlement was effected under François Caron, at Sûrat, where the English and Dutch already had flourishing factories;

and in the next year another settlement was obtained at Masulipatam. At Sûrat, however, French trade did not prosper; and before long the agents of the company took a somewhat sudden departure without paying their debts—an omission which of course precluded their return. In 1672 Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, and Meilâpûr, or S. Thomé, on the Coromandel coast, were taken from the Dutch, but were lost again in 1674. Yet, notwithstanding these reverses, they still persevered, and in the month of April of this same year, having bought a piece of land

from the Bîjapûr government, they erected the city of Puthu-chêri, now called Pondicherry founded, 1674.

Pondicherry. The founder was François Martin, the greatest, though perhaps not the most conspicuous, French potentate in the East. But the new settlement was not destined long to enjoy India's then greatest luxury—the luxury of peace. It had only just completed its third year when the first and the greatest of the Mahratta chieftains, during his memorable expedition into the Carnatic, advanced upon and threatened the town. Martin by his energetic and judicious measures managed to conciliate the native chief, and to save Pondicherry; and so for awhile was left free to mature and establish his plans. But before very long the place attracted the attention of the Dutch, and was stormed and taken by them in the year 1693. The conduct of Râja Râm, the Mahratta

regent, on this occasion is worth recording. Having been offered a price for the town by the Dutch, he answered "that the French had fairly purchased it, and paid a valuable consideration for it; and that all the money in the world would not tempt him to dislodge them." However, the well-meaning regent was soon cooped up in Gingé; and the Moguls not only received the Dutch bribe, but even aided them in their attack. In 1697 the Peace of Ryswick was signed, and Pondicherry being restored, Martin returned in triumph to enlarge and fortify the town, and to raise it at last by skilful policy, good government, and fair dealing, to the rank of a great commercial city.

In 1688 the French obtained from the Emperor Aurungzib a settlement at Chândernâgôr, near Calcutta, Shayista Khân being then viceroy of Bengal. In 1725 Mahî was added to their possessions, and its name was changed to Mahé, in honour of the young naval officer Bertrand François Mahé de la Bourdonnais, through whose daring and ingenuity it was taken. In 1731 we find another memorable man commencing his career of distinction in India. In this year Joseph François Dupleix was appointed director of Chândernâgôr, and, during the ten years of his rule at this post, not only did he amass great wealth by private trade, but also raised the town from an almost deserted port to a flourishing emporium. But many years before this, in fact as far back as the year 1672, a great colony had been founded in Cerné (called by the French *Ile de France*, and by the Dutch *Mauritius*, in honour

Mauritius  
and Bour-  
bon, 1672.

of Prince Maurice, of Nassau) and in the Isle of Bourbon. The governor of this colony, M. Dumas, <sup>Dumas, 1735-1741.</sup> was created governor-general of the French possessions in India in 1735, and proved himself a worthy successor of François Martin. It was in his time that there began that system of interference with the affairs of the Hindû princes, which raised the French name for a time above the name of all other European nations in native estimation, and which led to such important results. It was through the influence of Dôst Âlt, Nuwâb of the Carnatic, whom the French supported, that Muhammad Shâh, emperor of Delhi, conceded to them the right of coining. But their influence with Chandâ Sahêb, the son-in-law and dîwân of Dôst Âlt, was of still greater importance. It was through his good offices that Kâricâl and the <sup>Kâricâl, 1739.</sup> neighbouring villages were wrested from the Mahratta king of Tanjore, and made over to the French in 1739; and it was through their intrigues with him and his party that this nation obtained the position from whence they rose to be for a while the dictators of the south-eastern portion of the Dakhan. During the Mahratta invasion of the Carnatic, under Râghujî Bhonslê and Morârî Râo, Pondicherry had been threatened, and Dumas had been reduced to great straits; but through his boldness and his liberal donations of French liqueurs he eventually induced his foe to leave him unmolested. In 1741, however, he was superseded by Dupleix, and retired amid the praises of Southern India, with the thanks of the aged Nizâm-ul-Mulk, of the Nuwâb of

Arcot, and of the emperor himself, who even conferred on him the title of Nuwâb. Dupleix <sup>Dupleix,</sup> immediately assumed the pomp and state of <sup>1741-1754</sup> this illustrious office, and proceeded to Chândernâgôr for installation, using every effort to strengthen his position. What he accomplished, what part he played in the memorable transactions of the ensuing years, I must leave Lord Macaulay to tell.

There is but one other European nation which attempted to gain a footing in India. It accomplished indeed little or nothing in the way of territorial acquisition; but the illustrious names <sup>The Danes in India, 1616.</sup> connected with its settlements make its attempts worthy of record. The government of Denmark never held more than two factories in India—one at Tranquebâr (bought from the Râja of Tanjore in 1616), the other at Serampore on the Hûglî—and both these were sold to the English in 1845. But both places were celebrated in the eighteenth century for the laborious and learned men who were there engaged in translating the Bible into the native languages of India, and as the centres of missionary work in the East. The names of Ziegenbalg (1706-1719) and Fabricius (1739-1791) of Tranquebâr, and of the noble band of Serampore, of whom Carey, Ward, and Marshman were the chiefs, will always command respect as long as unselfishness, purity of life, and heroic effort retain their hold on our admiration. Nor should the name of the noble missionary Schwartz (1750-1798) be forgotten, or the work that he did in Tranquebâr, in Trichinopoly, and in Tanjore. Indeed, in the field of Eastern language and Eastern literature

the Danes and the Danish government have not yet ceased to have much cause to be proud of each other.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE, AND  
THE GROWTH OF THE MAHRATTA POWER.

After the death of Teimûr (or Tamerlane) and his accomplished son Shah Rokh, his vast dominion, which included all Central and Western Asia, fell rapidly to pieces. Not only were the more distant provinces cut off, but the original domain of Transoxiana was split into portions, for which the different branches of the family eagerly contended. One held Samarkhand, another Bactria, another Bokhâra, another Kâbul, and another Kokhân, then called Ferghâna, a fertile valley extending along the course of the Sir, the ancient Jaxartes. This last, in 1494, was inherited by a son of a great-grandson of Teimûr, a

boy aged only twelve, whose mother was a  
Bâber. descendant of the Mogul (or Mongol) house of Genghîz Khân. The boy's name was Zahir-ud-dîn-Muhammad, the "Light of the Faith," but he is better known under the epithet of Bâber, or the Lion. This youth proved to be, if not, according to Elphinstone, "the most admirable prince that ever reigned in Asia," at any rate a most remarkable man. He was emphatically the wandering knight adventurer of Asia, and till past the age of forty spent his life in winning and losing kingdoms. One moment he was ruler of a vast dominion, the next he had not where to lay his head; now he marched with a mighty army, and now he could scarcely muster a hundred

followers. His struggles and adventures during these years are admirably described by himself. "His sturdy frame, his precocious and versatile abilities, his indomitable energy, his quick observation and lively susceptibility to the curiosities, wonders, and beauties of nature, his warm heart and genial temper, and his constant cheerfulness under adverse circumstances, are most attractively displayed in his Memoirs; while, in a style as far as possible removed from the popular conception of the rude Tartar, he records a series of victories and defeats, of hair-breadth escapes, and daring achievements, which well illustrate the old adage, that truth is, after all, often stranger than fiction."<sup>1</sup> Once (in 1497), when ejected from Ferghâna, and seeing his followers reduced to two hundred and forty, he determined to attack his paternal city of Samarkhand, the military capital of Asia, and at that time strongly garrisoned. He approached and scaled the walls at midnight, and being joined by a number of friends, raised such a shout of victory through the city, that the sovereign fled in the confusion, leaving his metropolis and his dominions to Bâber. Driven out from this stronghold after a time, he marched southward and made himself master of the kingdom of Kâbul (1504); and there establishing his power, began to meditate the audacious project of repeating in India the exploits of his great ancestor Teimûr (or Tamerlane). But though several small expeditions took place, it was some time ere, to use his own words, he finally "placed his foot in the stirrup of

<sup>1</sup> Sidney Owen's *India on the Eve of the British Conquest*,  
p. 23.



resolution," and stood forth as a candidate for the imperial throne, which he claimed as the inheritance of his father's family (1519). But seven years passed, and four expeditions failed, before, in 1526, the battle of Pânipat gave him Delhi and Âgra, and the tract of country around them, and the death of the Afgân emperor, Ibrahim Lôdî, who fell in the battle, left the pathway to the throne clear. The old empire had in reality been long dissolved and broken up into many separate kingdoms, of which Bahâr, Mâlwâ, Chandêrî, and Bengal were the chief. Prince Humâyûn, Bâber's eldest son, was soon dispatched against the rulers of these states, and was successful in reducing the country from Gwâliôr to Jounpûr. But a more stubborn resistance was met with from Sanga, the Râjput prince of Chhlôr, who was joined by the Râjas of Mârwar, Jeypûr, and Chandêrî. The struggle was indeed an attempt, and the last attempt of the Râjpûts, to drive the Mussulmans from India, and to establish their own supremacy. But the decisive battle of Sikrî (near Âgra), early in 1527, and the storming of Chandêrî in January of the next year, conclusively settled the question of the lordship of Hindûstân, and firmly established the Mogul on the throne. Henceforth the endeavours of the Râjpûts were restricted to asserting what they could of their former independence. Bâber next turned his arms against Bahâr and Bengal; and in 1529 these provinces were forced into submission. But the great conqueror's end was now not far off; and it was as remarkable and romantic as his life had been. *Humâyûn, his eldest son, lay dangerously ill, when*

Bâber conceived the idea of offering his own life for his son's. Having walked thrice round the bed of the sick man, and having prayed solemnly that the disease might pass to him, in full belief that his prayer was heard, he exclaimed, "I have borne it away." Humâyûn rapidly recovered, and Bâber's health, already broken, rapidly declined. On December 26, 1530, with exhortations of peace on his lips, he breathed his last. His remains were taken to Kâbul, and a simple but beautiful tomb was there erected to his memory.<sup>1</sup>

Humâyûn succeeded his father, and reigned nominally till the year 1556; but in reality the <sup>Humâyûn,</sup> last sixteen years of this period were spent <sup>1530-1556.</sup> by him in exile. His generosity, or weakness, to his three brothers early stripped him of his fairest provinces, and left him with nothing more than the newly-acquired territory and his father's veteran army and renown to depend upon. His reverses, his sufferings, his gallantry, his fortitude, and his last brilliant success render his life almost as interesting as his father's; but his personal defects—conspicuous amongst which were weakness, indolence, capriciousness, and occasional cruelty—deprive him in our eyes, as it did in the eyes of his adherents, of everything like respect or admiration. His first antagonist was Bahâdar Shâh of Gujarât, on whom he wasted much strength; and his second and still more formidable opponent,

<sup>1</sup> It is somewhat curious that, though Bâber prided himself on his Tâtar descent from Teimûr (or Tamerlane), and hated the name and race of his mother's family, the empire which he founded in Hindûstân should have always borne the title of *Mogul* (or *Mongol*).

was Shîr Khân Sûr, the Afgân conqueror of Bahâr and Bengal. After a few first successes against the latter, followed by a series of crushing defeats and narrow escapes from imprisonment or death, and then by severe trials in the great Indian desert, Humâyûn was at last forced to take refuge at the court of Tamasp, the Persian Shâh (1544). By this monarch he was by turns patronised, insulted, and persecuted, and at last, in hopes of obtaining assistance towards regaining his lost throne, induced to adopt the tenets of the Shîa sect of the Muhammadans. Of the five Afgâns of the house of Sûr, who ruled Hindûstân between 1540 and 1556, we need here say nothing. In 1545 we find the realmless Mogul emperor with the aid of Persian horse recovering the old family dominions of Kandahâr and Kâbul. Three years later, some sort of reconciliation is patched up with his rebellious and treacherous brothers; but it is not till 1555 that Humâyûn is in a condition to attempt to regain his Indian provinces. His success is now rapid and brilliant. He speedily retakes Lâhôr, and driving Sikander (the fifth of the interloping Sûr dynasty) before him, and wreaking a cruel vengeance on his brother Kâmrân, he recovers the towns of Âgra and Delhi, and the district around them. But even then, at the height of his triumph, and while his son Prince Akbar is working wonders in the Panjâb, his luckless fate overtakes him. Slipping on the marble steps which led to the top of his palace, he falls headlong over the parapet and dies—just six months after his return. Jalâl-ud-dîn, commonly known as Akbar, or the Great,

was only in his fourteenth year when he was called upon to struggle for the sceptre in a land which <sup>Akbar,</sup> teemed from end to end with rebellion; <sup>1556-1605.</sup>

Afgân nobles, Râjpût princes, and often his own discontented officers, contested with him the right, which was after all only the right of the strongest. But Akbar had already shown a character of no mean order; and the regent Beirâm Khân, who for four years exercised almost unlimited power, by his military talent, his energy, and inflexibility of purpose, before long rendered the struggle at least not very doubtful. In 1560 Akbar became emperor in reality, though his dominions consisted only of the Panjâb and the district around Delhi and Âgra. The adherents of the house of Tamerlane in India were moreover few, and not always to be counted upon. But powerful, athletic, handsome, incredibly active both in body and mind, brave, affable and captivating in manners, and withal sober, abstemious, and profoundly benevolent, the young prince was in every way fitted for the task of establishing a wide and firm rule, and of calling order out of chaos. He first set himself to conquer those whom he claimed as his feudatory nobles, and by the year 1567 had fairly accomplished his design. Then five years were spent in reducing the Râjpût chiefs to submission. But no sooner was the submission a fact than the emperor, with the wisdom and generosity for which he was always remarkable, recognised the rank of his former opponents, and encouraged the closest intimacy between his followers and these hereditary heroes of Hindûstân by himself marrying a daughter of the Râja of Mârwar. Indeed,

throughout his illustrious reign it was ever one of the greatest objects of his sound policy and unprejudiced humanity to give to Hindû, equally with Mussulman, a close and common interest in upholding the throne.

In 1573 Akbar was called in to put an end to the dissensions which, for more than forty years, had torn the kingdom of Gujarât in pieces, and by the annexation of its territory gained an important addition to his empire. From 1575 to 1592 the reduction of the rich and fertile provinces of Bahâr, Bengal, and Orissa occupied his attention. But in the midst of these considerable and brilliant conquests he still found time for study, and for the consolidation of the fresh power he continually obtained. He showed himself eminently skilled and methodical in the despatch of business, encouraged every kind of literature, and personally superintended many important literary undertakings, of which the far-famed *Ayîn Akbarî*, or *Institutes of Akbar*, was the chief. Nor was this all. We find him besides ever anxious to promote not only the increase and tranquillity of his dominions, but also the well-being and improvement, material, intellectual, and moral, of his people—a monarch in every way worthy of comparison with his great European contemporaries.

In 1581 the Moguls occupied Kâbul, and five years afterwards accomplished the conquest of Cashmîr. Then followed, in 1592, the annexation of Sind; while, owing to the dissensions amongst the Persians, Kandahâr too came again under Akbar's rule in 1594. Thus when thirty-eight years of his reign had passed, the emperor held undisputed sway, not only over his *hereditary dominions* beyond the Indus, but also

over the whole of Hindûstân, with the exception of Oudipûr. But not even this extensive empire was sufficient for his constantly increasing ambition. In 1595 his eyes were turned towards the Dakhan, and a series of attempts was commenced to re-establish Mogul supremacy in that country of steep hills and plains and rapid torrents. But, though these attempts continued for six years, all that was gained in the end was the annexation of Kândêsh and of a great part of Berâr, together with the possession of the fort of Ahmednagar and of the surrounding districts. But the victorious career of this Indian Charlemagne was now drawing to a close. The vigorous health began to show signs of the wear and tear of a life of incessant activity, and the keen inquiring mind was darkened with sorrow for the death of a much-loved son. It soon became manifest that recovery was impossible, and the jackals began to quarrel for the prey in the presence of the dying lion. Rousing himself for one last effort, the greatest of Eastern rulers proclaimed his sole surviving son his successor, and then humbly asking forgiveness of his nobles for any offences he might have committed against them, he <sup>October 13,</sup> turned his face to the wall, and murmuring <sup>1605.</sup> words of hope and belief, passed "to where beyond these voices there is peace."

His death was not so immediate a calamity to the state as might hastily be imagined, for he had built the policy and welfare of his government on something more lasting than his own individual will and personal superintendence. Nothing indeed more surely attests the excellence of Akbar's institutions

than the fact that the empire continued to prosper under its two next rulers. We have already hinted at the general tone of his policy; it was dictated and directed by plain good sense, benevolence, and an intellect at once comprehensive and thoroughly experienced in particulars. Above everything, he desired to treat all his subjects alike, and to abolish every discordant distinction between Hindû and Muhammadan. In revenue matters he introduced reforms, important, not so much for the novelty of the principles they involved, as for the painstaking and accuracy with which they adjusted the burdens of taxation, equalising their pressure on the richer classes, and relieving almost entirely the poorest. He laboured, too, continually to reduce the expenses of the collection of the revenue, and to prevent the extortions of government officers; while in the army, though with great difficulty, he managed to introduce a system of obedience, economy, and efficiency, which stood him and his successors in good stead, and by paying the soldiers in cash instead of by assignments of land, kept them constantly dependent on himself. In these reforms he was ably assisted by the great finance minister and military leader, Râja Todar Mal, while the enlightened counsel which he received from the renowned and admirable Âb-ul-Fazl, the author of the *Ayn Akbarî*, and his brother Feizî, not only strengthened his endeavours, but, no doubt, often prompted their direction. The empire in this reign was divided into eighteen provinces or *Sûbâhs* each under a *Sûbâhdâr* or viceroy, whose deputies, having the charge of districts, were called *Nuwâbs* (=deputies), corrupted by the English into *Nabobs*. These

eighteen súbâhs varied continually, it is true ; but the following list will, we think, give a fairly accurate idea of them :—Kâbul, Lâhôr, Mûltân, Delhi, Âgra, Oudh, Allâhâbâd, Âjmir, Gujarât, Malwâ, Bahâr, Bengal, Kândêsh, Berâr, Ahmednagar, Orissa, Cashmîr, and Sind.

Selfm, taking the pompous title of Jehângîr, or conqueror of the world, succeeded his father. His reign contains little of interest for us from our present point of view, except the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe and the progress of Mogul supremacy in the Dakhan. It was a reign of domestic trouble and domestic crime. At its opening one son revolts ; and although on the failure of his attempt, his life is spared, he is never forgiven, and dies in captivity, while his followers are executed by hundreds with barbarous cruelty. At its close another son, Khurram or Shâh Jehân, is goaded into rebellion by the evident design of supplanting him in favour of a younger brother. Nor was a quarrel between the Empress Nûr Jehân and the great general Muhâbet wanting to complete this scene of turmoil and distress. The emperor himself, despite his intemperance and violence, is described as remarkable for a sincere love of justice, and a desire to remedy the evils which existed in the state. But his cruelty to his son Khûsrû, his infamous murder of Âb-ul-Fazl, and the crime, like the crime of David, by which he obtained his empress, "The Light of the World," are blots too dark to be hidden by the light of his other endeavours. It was between the years 1615 and 1618 that Sir Thomas Roe sojourned at the Mogul court, as ambassador from James I., a king

Jehângîr,  
1605-1627.

Sir T. Roe,  
1615-1618.



not at all unlike his Eastern contemporary. Sir Thomas confesses himself dazzled by the splendour that surrounded him, and alternately amused and disgusted with many of the proceedings he witnessed. His narrative is extremely interesting. But his endeavours to gain permanent advantages for the English traders were, as we have said before, altogether unavailing; heavy bribes being often necessary to obtain a hearing or a concession, and nearly as often entirely vain. Before very long he became quite convinced that the only course open to our merchants was to make the best terms they could with the local authorities.

After completing the reduction and conciliation of Rājputāna, Shāh Jehān the future emperor turned his attention to the affairs of the Dakhan, where after the loss of Ahmednagar in 1599 Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian noble of splendid abilities, had founded a new capital Khirki (changed afterwards by Aurungzīb to Aurungābād), and there held his ground against the Moguls. For some time the prince made great progress, and gained reputation and influence by his successful conduct of the war. But his rebellion against his father in 1621, and his endeavour to make use of his power in the Dakhan proving unsuccessful, the fruits of his labours in that quarter were entirely forfeited, and the chaotic state of that unhappy district rendered still worse.

In 1627 Jehāngīr died on his way from Cashmīr to Lāhōr, his life having become a misery to him through sickness and domestic troubles. In the same year was born Sivajī, the man destined to create a

new era in the Dakhan and in the history of all India.

Under Shâh Jehân, who succeeded his father, the Mogul empire attained its zenith. At no other period was it so tranquil, so well ordered, <sup>Shâh Jehân,</sup> and so thriving in all its older Indian provinces; never were the princes of Râjpûtâna more zealous in their allegiance to the throne; never was the Court more splendid, or the Emperor more powerful, wealthy, and generally respected. Though in 1649 Kandahâr was finally lost to the empire, in the Dakhan the progress of Mogul supremacy was marked and steady. The kingdom of Ahmednagar was finally extinguished in 1637, in spite of the gallant efforts of its last champion Shâhjî, the father of the great Sivajî. Bîjapûr (to which Shâhjî transferred his allegiance), and Golconda, the last two Afgân kingdoms of the Dakhan, were reduced to tributary states, a Mogul party was established in each, the imperial provinces of the peninsula were elaborately surveyed, and the revenue system of Akbar was introduced into them.

As we have seen, Shâh Jehân was waging war in the Dakhan when the news reached him of the attempt to deprive him of the crown, and to settle it on his brother Sheriâr. Muhâbet Khan and Asaf Khân (Nûr Jehân's brother), two of the most able men then in India, immediately espoused his cause, and Shâh Jehân, hurrying to the capital, speedily assumed sovereign power. But as was so often the case in the East, his reign, destined to be so prosperous, commenced with a dark and horrible tragedy. The new emperor adopted the most certain expedient to secure

himself against a rival. His brother Sheriâr, who had already been deprived of sight, was immediately put to death, and all his nephews who were then living were likewise murdered ; so that there remained not a drop of the blood of Tamerlane, except what flowed in his own and his children's veins. The treatment, which towards the end of his life he received at the hands of his son Aurungzêb, can only be considered as a just retribution for a crime so horrible, though unfortunately so common in that part of the world.

Shâh Jehân was extremely fortunate in his ministers. Besides the two eminent men already mentioned, the great Saad Ullâ Khân, pronounced by Elphinstone to have been " the most able and upright minister that ever appeared in India," played no small part in strengthening and extending his master's power. But perhaps this reign is best remembered for its glories in the field of architecture. The buildings at new Delhi and Agra, which are still the admiration of the world, and which necessitated the imposition of no new taxes or the use of oppressive measures, were erected under Shâh Jehân's superintendence. The Tâj Mahâl at Agra, the mausoleum of the Empress Mumtâz-Mahâl, built of white marble and inlaid with precious stones, " is," says Dr. Pope, " in solemn brilliance unsurpassed by any human erection," and was his most famous work. Yet after all this, and after maintaining his royal establishment and his army on a scale of unexampled magnificence, and devoting a sum variously rated at from 4,000,000*l.* to 6,500,000*l.* on the far-famed Peacock throne, he was able to leave to his *successor*, over and above his vast stores of wrought

gold, silver, and jewels, more than 20,000,000*l.* in actual coin.

But we must retrace our steps a little to glance at the doings of the emperor's sons. They were four in number : Dârâ Shako, the eldest, was frank, generous, bold, and a free thinker, but somewhat rash and overbearing. <sup>Aurangzib's rebellion, 1657.</sup> Shuja, the second, was naturally clever, but had ruined his talents by sensuality. Morâd, the youngest, was like his brother an inveterate sensualist, and, though brave, was possessed of no great ability. Of Aurungzib, the third, Mr. Sidney Owen must be allowed to speak:—"Gentle, unassuming, even humble in manner, courteous and considerate in his general intercourse, yet dignified and princely on occasion ; simple and self-denying in his daily life, austere in morals, and a sincere zealot for the *Sunnee* faith, but secretly glowing with unquenchable ambition for the highest worldly station ; wary, calculating and cold-blooded, yet susceptible of enthusiasm both on the secular battlefield, and in the subtler and more ideal contest for the ascendancy of Islam ; . . . dark and devious in his own machinations, consummately cunning in penetrating and over-reaching those of others, and infinitely suspicious of all men ; inflexible and utterly untrammelled by moral or humane considerations in the pursuit of his objects, . . . indefatigable in attention to the minutest details of business, and capable of heroic perseverance in a losing game, but equally destitute of broad statesman-like views, and profound insight into the more general and permanent workings of human character, . . . well trained and well informed

in the craft of regular warfare, and ever ready to incur toil, hardship, and danger where great personal or public interests summoned him to the field, but little conscious as yet that peculiar circumstances and extemporised devices of genius might ultimately prove too strong even for such a general, wielding the whole force of the state ;—such was Aurungzib, a man precisely adapted to gain the day over all his brothers.”<sup>1</sup> Dârâ, having Shâh Jehân’s full confidence, conducted the central government in his name. Shuja was viceroy of Bengal, and Morâd of Gujarât ; while Aurungzib had the care of Mogul interests in the Dakhan. In 1657 the emperor fell suddenly ill, and Dârâ in vain endeavoured to keep the news from his brothers. He, Shuja, and Morâd followed his example, immediately assumed the title of emperor, and prepared to maintain their pretensions by the sword. But the more cunning Aurungzib artfully dissembled his ambition, and giving it out as his intention to retire soon into a life of religious seclusion, joined his forces to those of Morâd—ostensibly to support *his* claim, and to oppose the infidel Dârâ and his idolatrous general Jeswant Sing. Dârâ’s son, the young prince Soleimân, meanwhile met and defeated Shuja near Benâres, and the discomfited prince returned to Bengal. But, though Shâh Jehân was now convalescent, the brothers refused to lay down their arms. Aurungzib and Morâd met and scattered the forces of Jeswant Sing at Ūjein (1658), and pressing on completed their success by the overthrow of Dârâ near Ágra ; which town they immediately occupied, while Dârâ fled to Delhi.

<sup>1</sup> *India on the Eve of British Conquest*, p. 43, &c.

Three days after, having found it impossible to shake Shâh Jehân's attachment to Dârâ, Aurungzîb made him a prisoner in his own palace, and throwing off the mask, had himself proclaimed emperor in his stead. The unhappy and simple Morâd was put to death (1661), after a mock condemnation for former cruelty in Gujarât. Dârâ and Shuja for a while protracted the struggle ; but in 1659 were finally conquered. Shuja took refuge with his family in Arakân, where they were all put to death (1660) as accomplices in a design of rebellion against the local government ; and Dârâ, having fallen into his brother's hands, was executed in prison on the charge of apostacy (July 1659). Thus by a series of murders and acts of treachery Aurungzîb had made his throne secure. All attempts to reinstate Shâh Jehân, even that of the great Râjpût, Jeswant Sing, failed ; and the old man at last died in his luxurious captivity in 1666.

It would take long to describe at all fully the many struggles of this tempestuous reign. The sword was scarcely ever sheathed from the beginning to the end. But even this constant war-<sup>Aurungzîb, 1658-1707.</sup>fare did far less harm to the imperial power than the intolerant zeal of the Great Mogul himself. The supremacy of the house of Tamerlane had risen to its greatest height under the last ruler, and its stored-up energy still served to carry it on some distance into this reign. But long ere the close the tide had visibly turned. The old kindly feeling of the Hindû people to their Mussulmân rulers had been rudely shaken, if not destroyed, by religious persecutions and vexatious distinctions ; the prestige of the imperial arms had

suffered grievously through the infatuated and ruthless oppression of the Râjpûts, which drove that noblest race of India into irreconcilable hatred and rebellion ; while the gigantic and ostentatious attempt to subjugate the Dakhan, ending in failure, severely strained all the resources of the realm. Nothing but the great ability and untiring energy of Aurungzîb kept the empire from falling to pieces. Proud, fanatical, reckless of human suffering, he might close his eyes to the lessons which every year taught him, and display his unrivalled skill in baffling every dangerous combination of his well-nigh desperate subjects. He might impose the obnoxious *jizya*, the poll-tax on infidels, on the murmuring Hindûs ; he might pull down their temples, curtail their pleasures, and suppress their festivals ; he might lay waste with the utmost cruelty the fair fields of Râjpûtâna, and drive its princes into exile, and slaughter their children ; he might write Kurân texts with his own hand for the standards of insurgent Afgâns, and live the life of the strictest sect of Islam ; he might turn his face calmly aside from his rebellious sons. All this might last, and did last for a while. But before the end the light could not but break through, and find him on his death-bed troubled with remorse, haunted by anxieties, and conscious of the ruinous state of all things. Well might he then cry in his despair, "Wherever I look I see nothing but God. Many are the crimes I have committed. For me, I know not what punishments may be in store." On February 21, 1707, at the age of eighty-nine, he breathed his last, amidst the gloom of that helpless sorrow, which his letters to his sons so strikingly depict.

But let us now turn towards the Dakhan, and see what events have been passing there,—events small enough no doubt in the present but <sup>The</sup> full of deep import with regard to the <sup>Dakhan.</sup> future.

The interest centres on the one hand round the person of the Mahratta chieftain Sivaji, and on the other round the fast expiring kingdom of Bijapûr. It will be remembered that when <sup>Sivaji and the Mahrattas.</sup> the Ahmednagar dynasty was finally destroyed in 1637, Shâhji, the father of the great Hindû hero, sought employment under the Bijapûr Government, and was dispatched to the Carnatic, where a *jâghîr*, or beneficiary holding of land, was bestowed upon him. He left his son Sivaji, then ten years old, and a *jâghîr* consisting of twenty-two villages south of Satârâ, and the districts of Indâpûr, Barâmatî, and the Mâwals (or valleys) near Pûna, under the care of a faithful and intelligent Brâhman, Dadaji Konedêo. By his tutor Sivaji was brought up a zealous Hindû, and his mind was early stored with the popular legends of his wild romantic country. He never acquired the art of reading or writing, it is true; but his life of strange adventure and daring exploits among the mountains of Mahârâshtra, and the discipline of constant military exercise, by inuring him to fatigue and giving him a familiar knowledge of the country and the people, fitted him admirably for the part he was destined to play. He soon gathered round him a band of faithful Mâwallis, whom he employed on enterprises of a very questionable nature, and by their aid, in 1646, seized on the hill-fort of Tornea, twenty



miles south-west of Pûna, conciliating the king of Bījapûr with a promise of increased tribute. In the ruins near this fort he found a large treasure, and immediately used it to build another stronghold, which he called Raighur. As he continued to seize or erect fort after fort, the king not only redoubled his remonstrances, but at length cast Shâhjî into prison, and threatened to put him to death if his son did not immediately surrender. Sivajî was greatly distressed at this; but being unwilling to give up any advantage, he boldly entered into correspondence with Shâh Jehân, and by his artful representations induced him to forgive Shâhjî, to admit him into the imperial service, and to confer on Sivajî the title of commander of 5,000 horse. By the emperor's intercession, Shâhjî's life was spared, but he remained a prisoner for four years. When in 1652 Prince Aurungzîb a second time became viceroy of the Dakhan, and invaded the territories of Golconda and Bījapûr, Sivajî still artfully represented himself as an ally of the Mogul, and as soon as the two great powers were fully occupied in their sanguinary struggle, used every opportunity to increase his power and possessions by plundering both parties in turn. At length in 1657 Aurungzîb suddenly suspended the contest, and hastily concluding a treaty with Bījapûr, marched northwards to prosecute his ambitious schemes in Hindûstân—with what success we have seen.

Sivajî was now left to encounter the undivided, but somewhat weakened, hostility of the Afgân king whom he had so often set at defiance. In 1659 a large force under Afzal Khân was sent against the irre-

pressible rebel, and found him at the fort of Pertabghar. Sivaji, at first pretending the utmost dismay, by a cunning stratagem lured the arrogant Afzal Khân to a private interview, and there murdered him, while the Afgân army, deprived of its leader, soon fled before the Mahrattas, leaving behind them much spoil, and as many as 4,000 horses, of which Sivaji stood greatly in need. Exploits such as this soon raised the reputation of the "mountain rat" (as Aurangzib called him), and the assumption soon after of the character of champion of Hindûism still further strengthened his position. Without entering into the details of his campaigns we may briefly state that by the end of 1662 Sivaji possessed the Konkan from Kalyân to Goa (about 250 miles of coast), and the table-land above from the Bîma to the Warda (about 160 miles in length), the breadth of the district being at its widest, from Sôpa to Jinjîra, about 100 miles; while through the intervention of his father he was at last at peace with Bîjapûr. Taking advantage of this peace, he so harassed the Moguls, that the viceroy of the Dakhan, Shayista Khan, applied for leave to retire; whereupon Sivaji immediately swooped down on Sûrat (1663), one of the wealthiest towns in India, and carried off immense spoil, in spite of the angry but helpless scowls of the English and Dutch factors. In the following year Shâhji died, and his son, assuming the title of Râja, began to coin money in his own name. Then, collecting a fleet of eighty-five ships, he made an excursion down the pirate coast (that of the Konkan), sacked Barceloneta,

Sivaji's  
territory in  
1662.

Sivaji  
assumes the  
title of Râja.

and put to heavy ransom the pilgrims who were sailing from Sûrat to Mecca. This, combined with the spoiling of Sûrat (the "gate of Mecca" as it was called) so stirred the indignant wrath of the orthodox Aurungzîb, that he forthwith despatched Râja Jey Sing and Dilîr Khân into the Dakhan, to chastise the "mountain rat" and to reduce Bijapûr. Sivaji had now to submit. He surrendered twenty of his forts, and retained twelve as a jâghîr from the emperor. He also obtained, though without the specified sanction of the emperor, certain assignments of revenue, called *chout* (or *the fourth*), and *surdîshmukhî* (or 10 per cent.) on some districts of Bijapûr—a privilege which the Mahrattas in after times extended to almost every province of India. Sivaji then joined the imperial forces, and so distinguished himself in the invasion of the luckless Bijapûr, that Aurungzîb wrote him a complimentary letter, and invited him to Delhi.

In March 1666 Sivaji and his son Sambaji set out for the Court. The former seems to have started with the expectation of being treated as an omrah, or noble of the first class, and was in consequence deeply mortified when he found himself received by the Emperor with studied contempt, and consigned to quite a secondary rank. In fact, he soon perceived that he was little better than a prisoner; and so, cunningly contriving his escape, he hastily returned with his son to Raighur in December, and at once raised the standard of revolt. For some time he met no vigorous opposition from the Moguls. In 1668 he compelled the Courts of Bijapûr and Golconda to pay him tribute, and spent that year and the next

in revising and completing the internal arrangements of his kingdom. In 1674 he was formally enthroned with great state at Raighur, and a treaty was negotiated between him and the English. Two years later he undertook his celebrated expedition into the Carnatic, and made himself master of the whole of his father's jâghir, and of Gingi, Vellora, and many places in the neighbourhood. But his remarkable career was not destined to continue much longer. In one of his daring and almost incredible dashes across country to cut off a Mogul convoy he injured his knee, and the injury brought on fever. On April 5th, 1680, <sup>Sivaji enthroned, 1674.</sup> he died, amidst the undisguised sorrow of a <sup>1680.</sup> people to whom he had become almost a god.

To estimate accurately a character so mixed, and placed in circumstances so extraordinary, is now almost impossible. His courage, his skill, <sup>His character.</sup> and his power of enlisting the passionate devotion of his followers we have already seen. His crimes, which were not many, were almost entirely committed against the persecuting and invading Muhamadan, whom he perhaps, like his countrymen, may have considered his lawful prey. Of cruelty he was never guilty—a rare thing in Eastern princes. With his subjects he was familiar and trustful, but never flinched from maintaining the strictest discipline and the unfaltering recognition of his authority. His habits in private life were simple and temperate; but his religion, always highly coloured with superstition, was liable at times to become mere fanaticism. As a statesman, though he constructed no elaborate scheme

of policy, he at least showed that he was thoroughly acquainted with the character of the people he had to govern, and contrived, what many European statesmen have of late failed to do, to construct a stable and workable government out of elements the most chaotic and the most unpromising. We cannot therefore in justice deny to Sivaji the title of great ; while as long as India remains, he will always continue to be one of the most popular and the most interesting of her many heroes.

Sambaji, a cruel and intemperate man, succeeded his father, and, according to the usual fate of an Indian prince, had to overcome the ambition of a brother before his position was secure. His territory was next invaded by a large Mogul force, and, proving himself an unworthy son of Sivaji, he suffered great loss. Aurungzib soon after pushed all his armies into the Dakhan with the view of making a final conquest of Southern India. He commenced with an attack upon Bijapur and Golconda, and finally accomplished their reduction in 1686 and 1687 respectively. He then turned the whole of his prodigious and most pompous array against the Mahrattas, who in the interim had remained most unaccountably in a state of nearly total inactivity. Sambaji before long was taken prisoner, and put to death with the most barbarous inhumanity, and the final downfall of the Mahratta State seemed near at hand. But the murder of their Râja roused the people to schemes of desperate vengeance. Sambaji had left a son of six years, Sivaji, or Sâhu (thief), as Aurungzib nicknamed him.

Sambaji,  
1680-1689.

Aurungzib in  
the Dakhan,  
1683-1707.

Râni, a half-brother of the late Râja, was immediately proclaimed regent, and making a rapid dash across country, flung himself into the almost impregnable fortress of Gingl. The emperor despatched three generals in succession against this stronghold, but it did not fall into his hands till 1698, when Râja Râm effected his escape. Meantime the people throughout their native mountains had mustered their irregular bands, and poured them down not only upon the newly-conquered countries of Golconda and Bijapûr, but also upon the old territories of Kândêsh, Mâlwa, and Berâr. The young Sâhu and his mother were taken prisoners at a very early stage of the proceedings, and, though strictly excluded from all intercourse with their countrymen, were treated with kindness, the emperor's daughter taking especial interest in the captives. Sâhu was not liberated till after Aurungzîb's death.

The contrast between the splendour of the Mogul camp and army and the rude bivouacs of the Mahratta hordes at this period was very striking. The emperor's army chiefly consisted of a vast host of splendidly armed cavalry chosen from every province of the empire. There were also large bodies of well-disciplined infantry, and of artillery served by European gunners. But the luxury and almost incredible magnificence of the encampment, intended to strike awe into the nations of the Dakhan, perhaps attract our attention most. All the splendours and lavish profusion of the palaces of Âgra and Delhi were reproduced here. The canvas walls which encompassed the imperial tents alone formed a circumference of 1,200

yards, within which were halls and courts, mosques and baths, and galleries superbly draped and adorned with all the wealth of the looms of Persia, China and Europe. Nothing that the most extravagant oriental fancy could demand was there wanting. The expense must have been enormous, and must have sorely taxed the ample but still finite revenues of Hindûstân. Little of pomp, or even of comfort, was there in the Mahratta camp. There a few thousand irregular horsemen, brought together in some wild region, with little provision and no superfluities of any kind, slept on the bare ground with their horses' bridles in their hands and their swords by their sides ; or, if shelter were required, their horse-cloths stretched on the points of their long spears gave enough. They had not come forth to parade in fine robes, or to impress their countrymen with the delicacy of their appetites. They had come forth to spoil the hated Mussulmân, and to do deeds of daring which sent a cold shudder through the veins of even the infatuated Emperor himself.

The kind of warfare that ensued may be readily imagined ; and in it Aurungzîb wore out the last years of his life. No overwhelming failure, indeed, fell on the Mogul arms ; and amidst the general sloth and corruption and vice Zulfikâr Khân even greatly distinguished himself. But the heavily-mounted cavalry of Hindûstân could effect little among the hills of Mahârâshtra. The emperor was old. He trusted no one ; he was beloved by no one. Everywhere was uncertainty, distrust, and confusion ; while the princes

stood ready to tear each other to pieces for the throne. Still Aurungzib persisted in his fatal endeavours to reduce the Mahrattas. Fort after fort was stormed ; town after town was taken ; but the marauding bands only multiplied and swarmed in every direction. Convoys were cut off ; baggage trains plundered ; outposts captured, and all stragglers cut to pieces. Then gradually growing bolder they faced the Moguls in open field, and again and again defeated them till at last the imperial armies dreaded to meet their enemy, and fled before those whom they had formerly held in supreme contempt. On one occasion (in 1706) the Emperor himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This last trial was too much alike for the body and mind of the proud and aged Aurungzib. Returning to Ahmednagar, which twenty-one years before he had left with such pomp and arrogant display, he waited for his end to come, broken-spirited, friendless, and trembling at the future. At last on February 21, 1707, the end came, and the most renowned emperor of Hindûstân, the most haughty and magnificent of the sons of Bâber, passed away and left the throne behind him a ruined splendour.

On the death of Aurungzib the usual struggle for empire immediately ensued. But it was neither so prolonged nor so bloody as had been feared. Shâh Âlam, 1707-1712. Moazzim, the eldest son, whose cause was espoused by the more powerful party, was of a kindly and quiet disposition. He made his brothers most liberal offers ; but ambition and evil counsellors induced them to try the fortune of battle. Both were



vanquished, and both perished in the conflict ; and Moazzim thus, though with difficulty yet without crime, ascended the throne of Delhi. He assumed the title of Bahâdar Shâh, or "valiant king," but is oftener called Shâh Âlam, "king of the universe." The chief aim of this Emperor seems to have been to restore peace to his people, even at the cost of surrendering some of the haughtiest pretensions of his ancestors. The Mahratta prince Sâhu had been released by one of the claimants of the empire, and a party had been formed amongst his countrymen to restore him to power. This party the Mogul government supported ; while to deprive its former enemies of the pretext for spoliation and invasion, a formal grant of the *chout* of the six imperial provinces of the Dakhan was made to the Mahrattas in 1709, with the important condition that it should be levied and paid over by the Mogul Viceroy of those provinces. The next step was to effect an accommodation with the Râjpûts. This was managed, but on terms which gave the haughty and justly-incensed chiefs of Oudipûr, Mârwar, and Jeypûr a virtual independence. Lastly the Sîkhs, the disciples of the great and wise Nanak who lived in the time of Bâber, occupied the attention of the new emperor. This sect, founded on broad and excellent principles, which embraced the main doctrines of both Hindûs and Mussulmâns, had been forced by persecution to form themselves into a military commonwealth. The fanatical Aurungzîb had routed them more than once, and driven some of their chiefs into exile, and had murdered others. But

Chout formally granted.

the spirit of these heroic men had remained indomitable, and, becoming more and more exasperated, they had wreaked on every available opportunity a savage and horrible revenge for their sufferings. Shâh Âlam now took the field against them in person, drove them into the hills, and inflicted serious losses on them in their flight ; but failing to capture Banda, their chief and the centre of their enthusiasm, the check proved only a temporary one. In this struggle the emperor spent the last years of his life. He died in 1712, having in so short a time accomplished but little to avert the dark cloud of calamities which hung over his vast empire, threatening it with speedy ruin.

Through the influence of the all-powerful Zulfikâr Khân, Shâh Alam's son, Mirzâ Moiz-ud-dîn, ascended the vacant throne, after the customary slaughter of his kinsfolk. He soon, how-<sup>Jehândâr Shâh, 1712-1713.</sup> ever, proved himself incapable of supporting, even with a shadow of decency, the exalted rank to which he had been raised. He was a drunkard and a profligate, and left all the business of the state to his minister Zulfikâr, whose arrogance disgusted the great nobles of the Court. The two most powerful of these were the brothers Seiad Hussain Ali, governor of Bahâr, and Seiad Abdullah, governor of Allâhâbâd. These two, the king-makers of India, now espoused the cause of Farukhshtâr, a grandson of Shâh Alam, who had escaped the slaughter, and in a battle near Âgra defeated and slew Zulfikâr Khân and his puppet emperor, Jehândâr Shâh, as he had been called, February 1713.

The Seiads having thus raised Farukhshtâr to the

throne, proceeded to administer the empire at their pleasure, and in a manner which showed no want of vigour. Banda, the Sikh leader, having descended to the plains bordering on the Indus, was defeated and taken prisoner, and in company with several hundreds of his followers put to a most cruel death (1716). But, despite this success, and the increased energy of the administration, the great nobles soon began to murmur at the supremacy of the two haughty brothers. The emperor himself, too, soon tired of their yoke, and entered into more than one conspiracy to rid himself of it. But in the end the Seiads triumphed, and putting Farukhshîr to death, raised two princes to the throne in rapid succession. Neither of these youths, however, survived his elevation more than a few months; and the brothers were forced to seek another puppet. Their choice now fell on Roshen Akhter, a grandson of Shâh Âlam; and blotting out the names of the two last youths from the list of Mogul emperors, they proclaimed him under the title of Muhammad Shâh.

This prince, like his predecessor, at first placed unbounded confidence in the two ministers who had raised him to power, and paid great deference to their authority. But he, too, speedily grew weary of their dictation, and joined in a plot with Nizâm-ul-mulk, the governor of Mâlwa (who had refused to resign his province at the bidding of the Seiads), and Sâdat Khân, the governor of Oudh. The former openly rebelled, marched southward to recover his old viceroyalty of the Dakhan, and defeated the generals sent against him by the brothers.

The emperor and Hussain Ali then set out together to reduce this refractory noble ; but according to the preconcerted plan, Hussain was murdered on the way, and the emperor turning quickly round, and being reinforced by 4,000 Râjpût cavalry, marched against Seiad Abdullah. An engagement took place between Delhi and Âgra, in which the Seiad was defeated and taken prisoner, and Muhammad Shâh entered Delhi in triumph to rule in his own name.

The emperor was no sooner in the full possession of sovereign power than he began to display that incapacity for which his successors made themselves even more remarkable. He had two able and on the whole not unfaithful ministers to support him—the veteran Nizâm-ul-Mulk and the Persian adventurer, Sâdat Khân ; but, disgusted with their grave and severe manners, he resigned himself to youthful advisers of no ability. The Nizâm for a time held the office of Vazîr (prime minister); but irritated at finding himself overlooked, and disheartened in his attempts to reform the emperor and to check the laxity of the Court, he took his departure south, and before long (1734) contrived to establish a virtually independent power in the Dakhan. Sâdat Khân, following his example, retired to his province of Oudh, where he, too, gradually worked his way to independence.

The chief interest henceforth centres round the rapidly increasing power of the Mahrattas, and it will be convenient to treat the history of the Mogul emperors as an episode in our narrative rather than as its main theme. Not that the emperors, or rather the

empire, dwindled immediately into insignificance ; but because it now ceases to be the dominant power in India ; and is on the one hand constantly at the mercy of its ambitious nobles, and on the other constantly is forced to yield province or town to the bold marauding Hindû.

It will be necessary to take up the thread of our story where we dropped it, at the restoration of Sâhu in 1708. Târa Bâî, the widow of Râja Râm and regent on behalf of her young son Sivajî, at once refused to recognise Sâhu's authority, and even affected to consider him an impostor. Thus, as the wily Mogul had hoped, a schism ensued, which was carefully fomented by Nizâm-ul-Mulk, viceroy of the Dakhan, and which for some years seemed likely to prove the ruin of the Mahratta State. Sâhu and his party ruled at Satârâ ; and the anti-râja reigned at Kolhâpûr. But though the independence of Kolhâpûr was recognised in 1731, Târa Bâî and her adherents, and the party which superseded them in 1712, never attained any great influence. The power of Sâhu on the other hand was increased and gradually consolidated by the wise measures of his able minister, Bâlâjî Vishwanâth, who entered his service about the year 1712. This man so distinguished himself in an expedition to the coast south of Bombay, that Sâhu on his return created him *Peishwâ*, or prime minister, an office which had carried little authority with it before his time, but which his ability soon made paramount, and which he contrived to make hereditary in his family. Indeed, as in the case of the degenerate descendants of the great Clovis,

these " mayors of the palace " became henceforth the real heads of the state, while the Râjas, though living in all the splendour and pomp of a nominal sovereignty, became little better than state prisoners at Satârâ. Sâhu was in manners a Muhammadan, indolent and luxurious, gladly delegating his duties to the Peishwâ, and openly acknowledging himself a vassal of Delhi ; yet under Bâlâji the Mahratta power was at this time extended in a remarkable manner—a result no doubt in a great measure due to the distracted state of the Dakhan, and of the Mogul empire generally.

The Peishwâ's first endeavour was to put an end to the confusion in Mahârâshtra and on the western coast, and in this he succeeded. He next set to work to construct a revenue scheme, the details of which are exceedingly intricate, though its general drift is not hard to understand. It was based chiefly on the cession of territory and revenue made to the Mahrattas, when in 1718 Bâlâji accompanied the Seiad Hussain Ali to Delhi—a cession which was confirmed by Muhammad Shâh in 1720. The territory consisted of almost all the districts held by Sivaji at his death ; while the revenue consisted as before of the *chout* and *Surdêshmukî* of the six Regulation Provinces of the Dakhan, to which the same levies on the tributary states of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Mysore were now added. In return the Râja was to pay a fixed annual cess to the Imperial Treasury, to maintain order, and to provide a specified force for the emperor when called upon to do so. These cessions gave legality to what before had

been mere robbery, and enabled the Peishwâ to introduce some degree of order into his mode of collection. "He took care to assess the *chout* on an estimate of the revenue which, in the impoverished state of the country, was altogether ideal in amount. Thus, taking what they could get *on account*, the unscrupulous yet pedantic claimants always contrived to exact a variety of indefinite contributions, under the plausible pretext of arrears."<sup>1</sup> In fact, it was by no means his object to simplify the claims of his government. He knew that, in the present state of affairs the Râja would generally be a gainer in points of dispute with the Moguls, and he was anxious to keep up an excuse for interference and encroachment. By parcelling out the revenues of each district among several chiefs he contrived that, while each should have an interest in increasing the contributions to the general stock, none should have a compact property such as might render him independent of the government. The intricacy of these innumerable fractions of the revenue produced also another effect which he always had distinctly in view. It threw great power into the hands of the Brâhman agents of each chief, and thereby strengthened considerably the position of the political head of the order, the Brâhman Peishwâ himself. But Bâlâjî's energy was not exclusively occupied with the consolidation of power; he likewise pushed with vigour the interests of his countrymen in Hindûstân, and opposed with success the schemes of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who was establishing himself in the Dakhan, and who hoped, by playing off one Râja of

<sup>1</sup> *India on the Eve of British Conquest*, p. 179.

the Mahrattas against the other and both against the empire, to gain for himself nothing less than the supremacy of the peninsula.

In October 1720, just after the battle of Shâhpûr, which destroyed the power of the Seiads, Bâlâjî died, and left his office to be filled and his policy <sup>Bâjî Râo,</sup> developed by a yet more remarkable man, <sup>1720-1740</sup> his son Bâjî Râo, commonly known as the Nânâ.

Bâjî was a thorough soldier, hardy, self-denying, persevering, and after his fashion patriotic. His great desire was to extend the power of his countrymen in Hindûstân. "Now is our time," he is said to have cried to Sâhu, "to drive strangers from the land of the Hindûs, and to acquire immortal renown. By directing our efforts to Hindûstân, the Mahratta flag in your reign shall fly from the Kishtna to Attock.<sup>1</sup> Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree (the Mogul Empire) and the branches will fall of themselves." Sâhu, roused for the moment from his indolence, exclaimed "You shall plant my flag on the Himâlaya. You are the noble son of a worthy father."<sup>2</sup> But the Peishwâ's whole attention was not destined to be fixed on Hindûstân. In the year 1727 a long and desultory war commenced between the Mahrattas and Nizâm-ul-Mulk ; and though the general results were in the end favourable to the former, the enmity and constant machinations of so wily and so able a foe in no small measure hampered Bâjî Râo's operations. It was shortly before this period also that several Mahratta officers, who afterwards became

<sup>1</sup> Attock is a ford of the Indus at which a fort was built by Akbar in 1581.

<sup>2</sup> *Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 482.



independent leaders, or founders of states, and whose rivalries were a continual source of trouble to the Peishwâ, rose to distinction. Of these four at least deserve mention ; Mulhârjî Holkâr, a cavalry soldier of low origin, to whom Indôr was assigned in 1733 ; Rânojî Sindia, a descendant of an old Râjpût family ; Damajî and Pilajî Gaekwâr, the founders of the Barôda state ; and Raghujî Bhonslê, the founder of Nâgpûr.

In 1731, as has before been mentioned, the independence of Kolhâpûr and its Râja, Sambajî, a son of Râja Râm by a second wife, was established by treaty. In 1734 the Mahratta power was fully established in Mâlhwâ through the connivance of the Nizâm. In 1736 Bâjî Râo with his ubiquitous horsemen, after sustaining at the hands of Sâdat Khân, viceroy of Oudh, a partial defeat which was immediately magnified by the Moguls into an overwhelming reverse, suddenly appeared before the gates of Delhi, just to show Muhammad Shâh, as he said, "that he was still in Hindûstân." This move drew the Nizâm to the north to support the harassed emperor. But at Bhôpâl in Mâlhwâ he was hemmed in and forced to sign an ignominious convention, granting the whole of Mâlhwâ and the territory between the Nerbudda and the Chambal to the Peishwâ, and engaging to obtain from the emperor fifty lakhs (500,000*l.*) to defray the Mahratta's expenses. But just at this juncture news came hurrying down from the north-west, that stilled for a while all intestine quarrels. The great deliverer of Persia and the usurper of her throne, Nâdir Shâh, 1738. Nâdir Shâh, "the boast, the terror, and the execration of his country," had taken Kandahâr and

Kabûl, and was marching down upon Hindûstân to avenge his real or imagined wrongs at the hands of the Moguls. The Persian was within four days' march of Delhi before the impotent emperor had gathered an army and induced the viceroy of Oudh to lead it against the invaders. In the battle which ensued the Moguls were utterly routed, and their general put an end to his life; while Nâdir, marching on to Delhi, obtained possession of the persons of the emperor and the Nizâm, and established himself in the town. Here, owing to a senseless outrage on the part of the inhabitants, a horrible massacre was perpetrated; and then, replacing Muhammad on the throne and leaving much salutary advice to the Mahrattas to obey their emperor, and a terrible threat "that he would blot them out of the pages of the book of creation" if they did not, Nâdir Shâh marched home, bearing with him spoil to the amount of thirty millions sterling at least in money and jewels, a great part of the latter consisting in the plunder of the far-famed Peacock Throne.

About the time of Nâdir Shâh's departure a war broke out between the Mahrattas and the Portuguese, the principal exploit of which was the siege and capture of Bassein (May 1739) by the Peishwâ's brother. The Peishwâ himself spent some time in settling his northern frontier, putting affairs in Mâlwa in order, and making treaties with the Râja of Bandelkhand and the Râjpûts. He then set himself to achieve the conquest of the Dakhan, and in particular of the Carnatic. He failed, however, to accomplish anything against Nâsir Jung, the Nizâm's second son, who held

Aurangâbâd in his father's name. In the Carnatic, Dôst All, Nuwâb of Arcot, was defeated and slain in the battle of Ambûr (1740). But his successor, Saïdar All, managed to buy off the Mahrattas, and to engage them in an attack on Trichinopoly, with a view to dislodge his brother-in-law Chanda Sahêb, of whose growing power he was jealous. Trichinopoly was taken in 1741, and Chanda Sahêb was carried as a captive to Satârâ, Morârî Râo being left in charge of the city, which he held till 1743, when he evacuated the Carnatic.

But before this, in the month of April 1740, Bâjî Râo had died and had been succeeded by his son Bâlâjî Bâjî Râo, a man very unlike his two predecessors; for though charitable and kindly, he was cunning, sensual, and indolent. At the period of his accession we find that several Mahratta chiefs had made themselves independent; Raghujî Bhonslê in Berâr, Damajî Gaekwâr in Gujurât, Mulhâr Râo Holkâr in the south of Mâl-wâ, Jayapa Sindia in the north-east of the same district, and a few others in the various provinces which had been overrun. Bengal, Bahâr, and Orissa were the scene of continual wars between All-Vardî Khan, who had just effected his independence in those parts, and the Bhonslê, the result being the establishment of the Mahratta power in Cuttack in 1751. All-Vardî after a time agreed to allow the *chout*. He had been defeated by Bhaskar Pandit, a general of the Bhonslê, and Hubîb Khân, the most able of his soldiers, had been taken prisoner and induced to enter the Mahratta service. Hubîb repeatedly ravaged Bengal; and

it was on his account that Alf Vardî permitted the English to dig the famous Mahratta ditch in 1744. In the year 1747 Ahmed Shâh Abdâllî, who had succeeded to the Persian throne on the murder of Nâdir Shâh, commenced his invasions of Hindûstân, but was defeated at the battle of Sirhind and compelled to return home.

Ahmed  
Shâh  
Abdâllî's  
first inva-  
sion, 1747.

In the next year (1748) three notable men died, —Sâhu, Muhammad Shâh, and the aged Nizâm-ul-Mulk. Sâhu was succeeded by his cousin Râm Râja, and Muhammad by his son Ahmed Shâh.

Râm Râja,  
1748-1777.  
Ahmed  
Shâh,  
1748-1754.

The chief events of the reign of Ahmed Shâh were a second invasion by his Persian namesake, when peace was purchased by the cession of Lâhôr and Mûltân, and the conspiracy of Ghâzi-ud-dîn, a grandson of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and Nizâm of Hyderâbâd, aided by the Mahratta Holkâr. The emperôr was seized and pronounced unfit to reign; he was then blinded and thrown into prison, where he died. His uncle Âlamgîr II. was placed on the throne in his stead. We need, however, say nothing more of him than that he was murdered by order of Ghâzi-ud-dîn in 1759. The Mogul empire was indeed in a pitiable plight by this time; Gujarât, Bengal, Bahâr, Orissa, Oudh, Rohilkhund, the Panjâb, and the Dakhan were all finally severed from it, and its emperors were henceforth the puppets of this or that powerful noble or prince. We may in fact now dismiss it as a power no longer worthy of consideration in the politics of India. Among the Mahrattas, ever since the accession of the second Bâljî to power

Âlamgîr II.  
1754-1759.

there had been constant struggles for supremacy between the different states which composed the confederacy, and the Peishwâ found it a difficult task to keep up even the semblance of a union. Still on the whole their power increased, and may be said to have reached its greatest height in 1760, when, after the battle of Ūdghîr, Dowlatâbâd, Asîrghar, Bîjapûr, and the province of Aurungâbâd were wrested from the Moguls.

But the affairs of Hindûstân now claim our more particular attention. As we have seen above, the Abdâlî had obtained Mûltân and Lâhôr in 1748. On his departure, he left Mîr Munu as viceroy of these conquered provinces. But the viceroy died in 1756, and his widow carried on the government in his stead. Great confusion then ensued, which was much increased by the raids of the Sikhs, who had again gathered in strength. The Vazîr of Delhi, Ghâzî-ud-dîn, or Mîr Shahâbodîn, as he is generally called, now invaded the lately lost provinces, claiming the daughter of Mîr Munu, who had been betrothed to him, seized on the widow, and carried her off to Delhi, leaving a treacherous Mogul, Adîna Bey, as governor. This brought the Abdâlî across the Indus once more. He marched on Delhi, took it, plundered it and Muttra; then he returned home (in the year of the tragedy of the Black Hole), leaving Nazîb-ud-dowla, a Rohilla chief, in charge of the Emperor Âlamgîr II. Mîr Shahâbodîn had been pardoned by the Afgân conqueror; but as soon as the coast was clear he formed an alliance with Ragobâ, a brother of the

Peishwâ, and by force recovered Delhi and the charge of the emperor's person. Then Ragobâ invaded Lâhôr, making a splendid but temporary conquest (May 1758). No expedition could have been more absolutely foolish; the expense incurred was almost ruinous, and the attack drew down upon the Mahrattas the fierce wrath of the most terrible soldier in Asia. Nor was this all. The arrogance and pretensions of Ragobâ so far exasperated many of the princes of the empire, that when all India should have gathered and stood as one man face to face with the Abdâlî, the Rohilla chief Nazîb-ud-dowla, and Shuja-ud-dowla, the viceroy of Oudh, were forced to take up arms in self-defence against the now hated Hindûs. In the turmoil and confusion the savage and unscrupulous Mîr Shahâbodîn seized the emperor and the heir-apparent Alî Gohar (afterwards Shâh Alâm), and caused the former to be assassinated. Alî Gohar escaped and became for many years a tool in the hands of the powerful viceroy of Oudh. The ruthless Vazîr then set up a puppet on the throne of Delhi; but a turn in affairs soon obliged him to fly from the court, with his power finally and absolutely broken. He wandered about for many years, and then disappeared on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The power of the Mahrattas was at its height. In all parts of Hindûstân their affairs prospered. They had overrun Lâhôr and the Panjâb. They talked openly of the conquest of all Hindûstan. In the Dakhan, the battle of Ūdghîr (1760) had made them almost supreme. But from the height of success and exultation they fell to the lowest depth of ruin and despair.

—suddenly, while in the full certainty of victory. 'The  
Pānipat,  
Jan. 1761 Abdālī crossed the Indus and advanced  
towards Delhi in September 1759, bent upon  
wreaking a terrible vengeance on the whole Mahratta  
race. The Mahrattas, under Holkār and Duttajī  
Sindia, fell back before him along the west bank of the  
Jamna. Near Delhi they lost about two-thirds of  
their number and their general Sindia, who fell in  
the engagement. At Sikandra Holkār was surprised,  
and his troops cut to pieces. But now Sivadasha  
Rāo Bhāo and Viswas Rāo, son of the Peishwā,  
elated with their recent victory in the Dakhan,  
marched northwards to restore the reputation of their  
countrymen, and to drive the Afgāns beyond the  
Attock ford. All the great chiefs of the confederacy had  
been gathered together; and the march was almost a  
triumphal procession, so much had success unmanned  
them. Dashing, brave, keen, they still were; but the  
old staunchness and tough vigour were gone in the  
hour when they were most sorely needed, in the  
hour when they found themselves face to face with  
the hard, well-tried veterans of the Abdālī. Delhi  
was taken, and the ambitious Bhāo talked of placing  
the son of the Peishwā on the imperial throne. This  
impolitic move disgusted most of the Moguls who  
had hitherto stood by them. The viceroy of Oudh  
went over to the enemy, and the Jāt leader and his  
Rājput allies held themselves aloof. Alone the  
Mahrattas had to face the invader. There is no  
need to enter into details. The Hindūs forgetting  
their old tactics at last allowed themselves to be  
hemmed in at their entrenched camp on the plain

of Pânipat. At length, on Jan. 7, 1761, having taken their last meal together, and knowing that their store of food was quite exhausted, they came forth to die—to conquer they could scarcely dare to hope. Who shall describe the wild dash and splendid despair of that first charge, when with cries of “Har! Har! Mádêo” they broke through the firm-set lines of the Afgâns, and scattered confusion and death around them once more as of old—till here and there the word “victory” rose from a muttered curse to a wild frenzied shout. No man sold his life for nought that day. But all was in vain. The undismayed grim sons of war, that had followed the Abdâlî through fire and blood on so many a field of even fiercer strife, held their own, closed on their mad foes, brought them to bay; and routed them utterly. The slaughter was terrible. The number of those who died is said to have amounted to 200,000 men.<sup>1</sup> Almost every chief fell; almost every Mahratta home mourned the death of a father or a son. Never was there a defeat more overwhelming, never was there a calamity which spread in a wider circle of consternation. The Peishwâ never recovered the shock of the terrible news. He died in a few months; and with him died all hope of Mahratta supremacy in India. The Abdâlî, abandoning all thought of holding Hindûstân, retired once more to his home beyond the Indus, having recognised Alî Gohar as Shâh Alâm II. and having established his son Jawân Bakht as regent in his absence.

The Mogul Empire is at an end; the great Hindû confederacy has been broken in pieces like a potter's

<sup>1</sup> Grant Duff, ii. p. 156.



vessel ; and the ground is clear for Clive and his successors to lay the foundation of a firmer and more righteous dominion ; a dominion not of aliens, but of a race whose ancestors centuries ago, on the plains of Central Asia, dwelt with and were one with the ancestors of the people of India ; formed with them one race and one people—had the same words for God, for father, for mother and for child ; a race under whose guidance India has risen from her despair to occupy once more her proud and time-honoured position of most illustrious of all the countries of Asia.

## LORD CLIVE.

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WE have always thought it strange that, while the history of the Spanish empire in America is familiarly known to all the nations of Europe, the great actions of our countrymen in the East should, even among ourselves, excite little interest. Every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma, and who strangled Atahualpa. But we doubt whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Surajah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindoo or a Mussulman. Yet the victories of Cortes were gained over savages who had no letters, who were ignorant of the use of metals, who had not broken in a single animal to labour, who wielded no better weapons than those which could be made out of sticks, flints, and fish-bones, who regarded a horse-soldier as a monster, half man and half beast, who took a harquebusier for a sorcerer, able to scatter the thunder and lightning of the skies. The people of India, when we subdued them, were ten times as numerous as the Americans whom the Spaniards vanquished, and were at the same time quite as highly civilised as the victorious Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo, and

buildings more beautiful and costly than the Cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, viceroys whose splendour far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astonished the Great Captain. It might have been expected, that every Englishman who takes any interest in any part of history would be curious to know how a handful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated, in the course of a few years, one of the greatest empires in the world. Yet, unless we greatly err, this subject is, to most readers, not only insipid, but positively distasteful.

Perhaps the fault lies partly with the historians. Mr. Mill's book, though it has undoubtedly great and rare merit, is not sufficiently animated and picturesque to attract those who read for amusement. Orme, inferior to no English historian in style and power of painting, is minute even to tediousness. In one volume he allots, on an average, a closely printed quarto page to the events of every forty-eight hours. The consequence is, that his narrative, though one of the most authentic and one of the most finely written in our language, has never been very popular, and is now scarcely ever read.

We fear that the volumes before us will not much attract those readers whom Orme and Mill have repelled. The materials placed at the disposal of Sir John Malcolm by the late Lord Powis were indeed of great value. But we cannot say that they have been very skilfully worked up. It would, however, be unjust to criticize with severity a work which, if the author had lived to complete and revise it, would probably have been improved by condensation and by a better arrangement. We are more disposed to perform the pleasing duty of expressing our gratitude to the noble

family to which the public owes so much useful and curious information.

The effect of the book, even when we make the largest allowance for the partiality of those who have furnished and of those who have digested the materials, is, on the whole, greatly to raise the character of Lord Clive. We are far indeed from sympathizing with Sir John Malcolm, whose love passes the love of biographers, and who can see nothing but wisdom and justice in the actions of his idol. But we are at least equally far from concurring in the severe judgment of Mr. Mill, who seems to us to show less discrimination in his account of Clive than in any other part of his valuable work. Clive, like most men who are born with strong passions and tried by strong temptations, committed great faults. But every person who takes a fair and enlightened view of his whole career must admit that our island, so fertile in heroes and statesmen, has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great either in arms or in council.

The Clives had been settled, ever since the twelfth century, on an estate of no great value, near Market-Drayton, in Shropshire. In the reign of George the First, this moderate but ancient inheritance was possessed by Mr. Richard Clive, who seems to have been a plain man of no great tact or capacity. He had been bred to the law, and divided his time between professional business and the avocations of a small proprietor. He married a lady from Manchester, of the name of Gaskill, and became the father of a very numerous family. His eldest son, Robert, the founder of the British empire in India, was born at the old seat of his ancestors on the twenty-ninth of September, 1725.

Some lineaments of the character of the man were early discerned in the child. There remain letters written by his relations when he was in his seventh year,

and from these letters it appears that, even at that early age, his strong will and his fiery passions, sustained by a constitutional intrepidity which sometimes seemed hardly compatible with soundness of mind, had begun to cause  
5 great uneasiness to his family. "Fighting," says one of his uncles, "to which he is out of measure addicted, gives his temper such a fierceness and imperiousness, that he flies out on every trifling occasion." The old people of the neighbourhood still remember to have heard from their  
10 parents how Bob Clive climbed to the top of the lofty steeple of Market-Drayton, and with what terror the inhabitants saw him seated on a stone spout near the summit. They also relate how he formed all the idle lads of the town into a kind of predatory army, and  
15 compelled the shopkeepers to submit to a tribute of apples and half-pence, in consideration of which he guaranteed the security of their windows. He was sent from school to school, making very little progress in his learning, and gaining for himself every where the character  
20 of an exceedingly naughty boy. One of his masters, it is said, was sagacious enough to prophesy that the idle lad would make a great figure in the world. But the general opinion seems to have been that poor Robert was a dunce, if not a reprobate. His family expected nothing  
25 good from such slender parts and such a headstrong temper. It is not strange, therefore, that they gladly accepted for him, when he was in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the East India Company, and shipped him off to make a fortune or to die of a fever at Madras.  
30 Far different were the prospects of Clive from those of the youths whom the East India College now annually sends to the Presidencies of our Asiatic empire. The Company was then purely a trading corporation. Its territory consisted of a few square miles,  
✓ *for which* rent was paid to the native governments.

Its troops were scarcely numerous enough to man the batteries of three or four ill constructed forts, which had been erected for the protection of the warehouses. The natives, who composed a considerable part of these little garrisons, had not yet been trained in the discipline of Europe, and were armed, some with swords and shields, some with bows and arrows. The business of the servant of the Company was not, as now, to conduct the judicial, financial, and diplomatic business of a great country, but to take stock, to make advances to weavers, to ship cargoes, and above all to keep an eye on private traders, who dared to infringe the monopoly. The younger clerks were so miserably paid that they could scarcely subsist without incurring debt ; the elder enriched themselves by trading on their own account ; and those who lived to rise to the top of the service often accumulated considerable fortunes.

Madras, to which Clive had been appointed, was, at this time, perhaps, the first in importance of the Company's settlements. In the preceding century, Fort St. George had arisen on a barren spot beaten by a raging surf ; and in the neighbourhood a town, inhabited by many thousands of natives, had sprung up, as towns spring up in the East, with the rapidity of the prophet's gourd. There were already in the suburbs many white villas, each surrounded by its garden, whither the wealthy agents of the Company retired, after the labours of the desk and the warehouse, to enjoy the cool breeze which springs up at sunset from the Bay of Bengal. The habits of these mercantile grandees appear to have been more profuse, luxurious, and ostentatious, than those of the high judicial and political functionaries who have succeeded them. But comfort was far less understood. Many devices which now mitigate the heat of the climate, preserve health, and prolong life, were unknown.

There was far less intercourse with Europe than at present. The voyage by the Cape, which in our time has often been performed within three months, was then very seldom accomplished in six, and was sometimes pro-  
 5 tracted to more than a year. Consequently, the Anglo-Indian was then much more estranged from his country, much more addicted to Oriental usages, and much less fitted to mix in society after his return to Europe, than the Anglo-Indian of the present day.

20 Within the fort and its precinct, the English exercised, by permission of the native government, an extensive authority, such as every great Indian landowner exercised within his own domain. But they had never dreamed of claiming independent power. The surrounding country  
 25 was ruled by the Nabob of the Carnatic, a deputy of the Viceroy of the Deccan, commonly called the Nizam, who was himself only a deputy of the mighty prince designated by our ancestors as the Great Mogul. Those names, once so august and formidable, still remain.  
 30 There is still a Nabob of the Carnatic, who lives on a pension allowed to him by the English out of the revenues of the province which his ancestors ruled. There is still a Nizam, whose capital is overawed by a British cantonment, and to whom a British resident  
 35 gives, under the name of advice, commands which are not to be disputed. There is still a Mogul, who is permitted to play at holding courts and receiving petitions, but who has less power to help or hurt than the youngest civil servant of the Company.

30 Clive's voyage was unusually tedious even for that age. The ship remained some months at the Brazils, where the young adventurer picked up some knowledge of Portuguese, and spent all his pocket-money. He did not arrive in India till more than a year after he had left England. His situation at Madras was most painful.

His funds were exhausted. His pay was small. He had contracted debts. He was wretchedly lodged, no small calamity in a climate which can be made tolerable to an European only by spacious and well placed apartments. He had been furnished with letters of recommendation to a gentleman who might have assisted him ; but when he landed at Fort St. George he found that this gentleman had sailed for England. The lad's shy and haughty disposition withheld him from introducing himself to strangers. He was several months in India before he became acquainted with a single family. The climate affected his health and spirits. His duties were of a kind ill suited to his ardent and daring character. He pined for his home, and in his letters to his relations expressed his feelings in language softer and more pensive than we should have expected either from the waywardness of his boyhood, or from the inflexible sternness of his later years. "I have not enjoyed," says he, "one happy day since I left my native country ;" and again, "I must confess, at intervals, when I think of my dear native England, it affects me in a very particular manner . . . If I should be so far blest as to revisit again my own country, but more especially Manchester, the centre of all my wishes, all that I could hope or desire for would be presented before me in one view."

One solace he found of the most respectable kind. The Governor possessed a good library, and permitted Clive to have access to it. The young man devoted much of his leisure to reading, and acquired at this time almost all the knowledge of books that he ever possessed. As a boy he had been too idle, as a man he soon became too busy, for literary pursuits.

But neither climate nor poverty, neither study nor the sorrows of a home-sick exile, could tame the desperate audacity of his spirit. He behaved to his official



superiors as he had behaved to his schoolmasters, and was several times in danger of losing his situation. Twice, while residing in the Writers' Buildings, he attempted to destroy himself ; and twice the pistol which he snapped at his own head failed to go off. This circumstance, it is said, affected him as a similar escape affected Wallenstein. After satisfying himself that the pistol was really well loaded, he burst forth into an exclamation that surely he was reserved for something great.

About this time an event which at first seemed likely to destroy all his hopes in life suddenly opened before him a new path to eminence. Europe had been, during some years, distracted by the war of the Austrian succession. George the Second was the steady ally of Maria Theresa. The House of Bourbon took the opposite side. Though England was even then the first of maritime powers, she was not, as she has since become, more than a match on the sea for all the nations of the world together ; and she found it difficult to maintain a contest against the united navies of France and Spain. In the eastern seas France obtained the ascendancy. Labourdonnais, governor of Mauritius, a man of eminent talents and virtues, conducted an expedition to the continent of India in spite of the opposition of the British fleet, landed, assembled an army, appeared before Madras, and compelled the town and fort to capitulate. The keys were delivered up ; the French colours were displayed on Fort St. George ; and the contents of the Company's warehouses were seized as prize of war by the conquerors. It was stipulated by the capitulation that the English inhabitants should be prisoners of war on parole, and that the town should remain in the hands of the French till it should be ransomed. Labourdonnais pledged his honour that only a moderate ransom should be required.

But the success of Labourdonnais had awakened the jealousy of his countryman, Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. Dupleix, moreover, had already begun to revolve gigantic schemes, with which the restoration of Madras to the English was by no means compatible. He declared that Labourdonnais had gone beyond his powers; that conquests made by the French arms on the continent of India were at the disposal of the governor of Pondicherry alone; and that Madras should be rased to the ground. Labourdonnais was compelled to yield. The anger which the breach of the capitulation excited among the English was increased by the ungenerous manner in which Dupleix treated the principal servants of the Company. The Governor and several of the first gentlemen of Fort St. George were carried under a guard to Pondicherry, and conducted through the town in a triumphal procession under the eyes of fifty thousand spectators. It was with reason thought that this gross violation of public faith absolved the inhabitants of Madras from the engagements into which they had entered with Labourdonnais. Clive fled from the town by night in the disguise of a Mussulman, and took refuge at Fort St. David, one of the small English settlements subordinate to Madras.

The circumstances in which he was now placed naturally led him to adopt a profession better suited to his restless and intrepid spirit than the business of examining packages and casting accounts. He solicited and obtained an ensign's commission in the service of the Company, and at twenty-one entered on his military career. His personal courage, of which he had, while still a writer, given signal proof by a desperate duel with a military bully who was the terror of Fort St. David, speedily made him conspicuous even among hundreds of brave men. He soon began to show in his new calling

other qualities which had not before been discerned in him, judgment, sagacity, deference to legitimate authority. He distinguished himself highly in several operations against the French, and was particularly noticed by  
5 Major Lawrence, who was then considered as the ablest British officer in India.

Clive had been only a few months in the army when intelligence arrived that peace had been concluded between Great Britain and France. Dupleix was in  
10 consequence compelled to restore Madras to the English Company; and the young ensign was at liberty to resume his former business. He did indeed return for a short time to his desk. He again quitted it in order to assist Major Lawrence in some petty hostilities with the  
15 natives, and then again returned to it. While he was thus wavering between a military and a commercial life, events took place which decided his choice. The politics of India assumed a new aspect. There was peace between the English and French Crowns; but  
20 there arose between the English and French Companies trading to the East a war most eventful and important, a war in which the prize was nothing less than the magnificent inheritance of the house of Tamerlane.

The empire which Baber and his Moguls reared in  
25 the sixteenth century was long one of the most extensive and splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a population subject to a single prince, or so large a revenue poured into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of the buildings erected by the sovereigns  
30 of Hindostan, amazed even travellers who had seen St. Peter's. The innumerable retinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne of Delhi dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles. Some of the great viceroys who held their posts by virtue of commissions from the Mogul

ruled as many subjects as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of these deputies might well rank, as to extent of territory and amount of revenue, with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Elector of Saxony. 5

There can be little doubt that this great empire, powerful and prosperous as it appears on a superficial view, was yet, even in its best days, far worse governed than the worst governed parts of Europe now are. The administration was tainted with all the vices of Oriental 10 despotism and with all the vices inseparable from the domination of race over race. The conflicting pretensions of the princes of the royal house produced a long series of crimes and public disasters. Ambitious lieutenants of the sovereign sometimes aspired to independence. Fierce tribes of Hindoos, impatient of a foreign yoke, frequently withheld tribute, repelled the armies of the government from the mountain fastnesses, and poured down in arms on the cultivated plains. In spite, however, of much constant maladministration, in spite 20 of occasional convulsions which shook the whole frame of society, this great monarchy, on the whole, retained, during some generations, an outward appearance of unity, majesty, and energy. But throughout the long reign of Aurungzebe, the state, notwithstanding all that 25 the vigour and policy of the prince could effect, was hastening to dissolution. After his death, which took place in the year 1707, the ruin was fearfully rapid. Violent shocks from without co-operated with an incurable decay which was fast proceeding within; and in a few years the empire had undergone utter decomposition.

The history of the successors of Theodosius bears no small analogy to that of the successors of Aurungzebe. But perhaps the fall of the Carovingians furnishes the

nearest parallel to the fall of the Moguls. Charlemagne was scarcely interred when the imbecility and the disputes of his descendants began to bring contempt on themselves and destruction on their subjects. The wide  
5 dominion of the Franks was severed into a thousand pieces. Nothing more than a nominal dignity was left to the abject heirs of an illustrious name, Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple. Fierce invaders, differing from each other in race, language,  
10 and religion, flocked, as if by concert, from the farthest corners of the earth, to plunder provinces which the government could no longer defend. The pirates of the Northern Sea extended their ravages from the Elbe to the Pyrenees, and at length fixed their seat in the rich  
15 valley of the Seine. The Hungarian in whom the trembling monks fancied that they recognised the Gog or Magog of prophecy, carried back the plunder of the cities of Lombardy to the depth of the Pannonian forests. The Saracen ruled in Sicily, desolated the  
20 fertile plains of Campania, and spread terror even to the walls of Rome. In the midst of these sufferings, a great internal change passed upon the empire. The corruption of death began to ferment into new forms of life. While the great body, as a whole, was torpid and passive, every  
25 separate member began to feel with a sense, and to move with an energy all its own. Just here, in the most barren and dreary tract of European history, all feudal privileges, all modern nobility, take their source. It is to this point that we trace the power of those princes,  
30 who, nominally vassals, but really independent, long governed, with the titles of dukes, marquesses and counts, almost every part of the dominions which had obeyed Charlemagne.

Such or nearly such was the change which passed on the Mogul empire during the forty years which followed

the death of Aurungzebe. A succession of nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bang, fondling concubines, and listening to buffoons. A succession of ferocious invaders descended through the western passes, 5 to prey on the defenceless wealth of Hindostan. A Persian conqueror crossed the Indus, marched through the gates of Delhi, and bore away in triumph those treasures of which the magnificence had astounded Roe and Bernier, the Peacock Throne, on which the richest 10 jewels of Golconda had been disposed by the most skilful hands of Europe, and the inestimable Mountain of Light, which, after many strange vicissitudes, lately shone in the bracelet of Runjeet Sing, and is now destined to adorn the hideous idol of Orissa. The 15 Afghan soon followed to complete the work of devastation which the Persian had begun. The warlike tribes of Rajpootana threw off the Mussulman yoke. A band of mercenary soldiers occupied Rohilcund. The Seiks ruled on the Indus. The Jauts spread dismay along the 20 Jumna. The highlands which border on the western sea-coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race, a race which was long the terror of every native power, and which, after many desperate and doubtful struggles, yielded only to the fortune and genius of 25 England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that this wild clan of plunderers first descended from their mountains ; and soon after his death, every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Many fertile viceroyalties were entirely 30 subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poonah, at Gualior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still

retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyæna and the tiger. Many provinces redeemed their harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious black-mail. The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi. Another, at the head of his innumerable cavalry, descended year after year on the rice-fields of Bengal. Even the European factors trembled for their magazines. Less than a hundred years ago, it was thought necessary to fortify Calcutta against the horsemen of Berar ; and the name of the Mahratta ditch still preserves the memory of the danger.

Wherever the viceroys of the Mogul retained authority they became sovereigns. They might still acknowledge in words the superiority of the house of Tamerlane ; as a Count of Flanders or a Duke of Burgundy might have acknowledged the superiority of the most helpless driveller among the later Carlovingsians. They might occasionally send to their titular sovereign a complimentary present, or solicit from him a title of honour. In truth, however, they were no longer lieutenants removable at pleasure, but independent hereditary princes. In this way originated those great Musulman houses which formerly ruled Bengal and the Carnatic, and those which still, though in a state of vassalage, exercise some of the powers of royalty at Lucknow and Hyderabad.

In what was this confusion to end ? Was the strife

to continue during centuries? Was it to terminate in the rise of another great monarchy? Was the Mussulman or the Mahratta to be the Lord of India? Was another Baber to descend from the mountains, and to lead the hardy tribes of Cabul and Chorasán against a wealthier and less warlike race? None of these events seemed improbable. But scarcely any man, however sagacious, would have thought it possible that a trading company, separated from India by fifteen thousand miles of sea, and possessing in India only a few acres for purposes of commerce, would, in less than a hundred years, spread its empire from Cape Comorin to the eternal snow of the Himalayas; would compel Mahratta and Mahomedan to forget their mutual feuds in common subjection; would tame down even those wild races which had resisted the most powerful of the Moguls; and, having united under its laws a hundred millions of subjects, would carry its victorious arms far to the east of the Burrampooter, and far to the west of the Hydaspes, dictate terms of peace at the gates of Ava, and seat its vassal on the throne of Candahar.

The man who first saw that it was possible to found an European empire on the ruins of the Mogul monarchy was Dupleix. His restless, capacious, and inventive mind had formed this scheme, at a time when the ablest servants of the English Company were busied only about invoices and bills of lading. Nor had he only proposed to himself the end. He had also a just and distinct view of the means by which it was to be attained. He clearly saw that the greatest force which the princes of India could bring into the field would be no match for a small body of men trained in the discipline, and guided by the tactics, of the West. He saw also that the natives of India might, under European commanders, be formed into armies, such as Saxe or Frederic would be proud to



command. He was perfectly aware that the most easy and convenient way in which an European adventurer could exercise sovereignty in India, was to govern the motions, and to speak through the mouth of some glitter-  
 5 ing puppet dignified by the title of Nabob or Nizam. The arts both of war and policy, which a few years later were employed with such signal success by the English, were first understood and practised by this ingenious and aspiring Frenchman.

20 The situation of India was such that scarcely any aggression could be without a pretext, either in old laws or in recent practice. All rights were in a state of utter uncertainty; and the Europeans who took part in the disputes of the natives confounded the confusion, by applying to  
 25 Asiatic politics the public law of the West and analogies drawn from the feudal system. If it was convenient to treat a Nabob as an independent prince, there was an excellent plea for doing so. He was independent in fact. If it was convenient to treat him as a mere deputy of the  
 30 Court of Delhi, there was no difficulty, for he was so in theory. If it was convenient to consider his office as an hereditary dignity, or as a dignity held during life only, or as a dignity held only during the good pleasure of the Mogul, arguments and precedents might be found for  
 25 every one of those views. The party who had the heir of Baber in their hands represented him as the undoubted, the legitimate, the absolute sovereign, whom all subordinate authorities were bound to obey. The party against whom his name was used did not want plausible  
 30 pretexts for maintaining that the empire was in fact dissolved, and that, though it might be decent to treat the Mogul with respect, as a venerable relic of an order of things which had passed away, it was absurd to regard him as the real master of Hindostan.

In the year 1748, died one of the most powerful of the

new masters of India, the great Nizam al Mulk, Viceroy of the Deccan. His authority descended to his son, Nazir Jung. Of the provinces subject to this high functionary, the Carnatic was the wealthiest and the most extensive. It was governed by an ancient Nabob, whose name the English corrupted into Anaverdy Khan.

But there were pretenders to the government both of the viceroyalty and of the subordinate province. Mirzapha Jung, a grandson of Nizam al Mulk, appeared as the competitor of Nazir Jung. Chunda Sahib, son-in-law of a former Nabob of the Carnatic, disputed the title of Anaverdy Khan. In the unsettled state of Indian law, it was easy for both Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Sahib to make out something like a claim of right. In a society altogether disorganized, they had no difficulty in finding greedy adventurers to follow their standards. They united their interests, invaded the Carnatic, and applied for assistance to the French, whose fame had been raised by their success against the English in the recent war on the coast of Coromandel.

Nothing could have happened more pleasing to the subtle and ambitious Dupleix. To make a Nabob of the Carnatic, to make a Viceroy of the Deccan, to rule under their names the whole of southern India; this was indeed an attractive prospect. He allied himself with the pretenders, and sent four hundred French soldiers, and two thousand sepoys, disciplined after the European fashion, to the assistance of his confederates. A battle was fought. The French distinguished themselves greatly. Anaverdy Khan was defeated and slain. His son, Mahommed Ali, who was afterwards well known in England as the Nabob of Arcot, and who owes to the eloquence of Burke a most unenviable immortality, fled with a scanty remnant of his army to Trichinopoly; and

the conquerors became at once masters of almost every part of the Carnatic.

This was but the beginning of the greatness of Dupleix. After some months of fighting, negotiation, 5 and intrigue, his ability and good fortune seemed to have prevailed every where. Nazir Jung perished by the hands of his own followers ; Mirzapha Jung was master of the Deccan ; and the triumph of French arms and French policy was complete. At Pondicherry all was exultation 10 and festivity. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. The new Nizam came thither to visit his allies ; and the ceremony of his installation was performed there with great pomp. Dupleix, dressed in the garb worn by Mahommedans of the 15 highest rank, entered the town in the same palanquin with the Nizam, and, in the pageant which followed, took precedence of all the court. He was declared Governor of India from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin, a country about as large as France, with authority superior even to 20 that of Chunda Sahib. He was entrusted with the command of seven thousand cavalry. It was announced that no mint would be suffered to exist in the Carnatic except that at Pondicherry. A large portion of the treasures which former Viceroys of the Deccan had 25 accumulated found its way into the coffers of the French governor. It was rumoured that he had received two hundred thousand pounds sterling in money, besides many valuable jewels. In fact, there could scarcely be any limit to his gains. He now ruled thirty millions of people with 30 almost absolute power. No honour or emolument could be obtained from the government but by his intervention. No petition, unless signed by him, was perused by the Nizam.

Mirzapha Jung survived his elevation only a few months. But another prince of the same house was

raised to the throne by French influence, and ratified all the promises of his predecessor. Dupleix was now the greatest potentate in India. His countrymen boasted that his name was mentioned with awe even in the chambers of the palace of Delhi. The native population looked with amazement on the progress which, in the short space of four years, an European adventurer had made towards dominion in Asia. Nor was the vain-glorious Frenchman content with the reality of power. He loved to display his greatness with arrogant ostentation before the eyes of his subjects and of his rivals. Near the spot where his policy had obtained its chief triumph, by the fall of Nazir Jung and the elevation of Mirzapha, he determined to erect a column, on the four sides of which four pompous inscriptions, in four languages, should proclaim his glory to all the nations of the East. Medals stamped with emblems of his successes were buried beneath the foundations of this stately pillar, and round it arose a town bearing the haughty name of Dupleix Fatihabad, which is, being interpreted, the City of the Victory of Dupleix.

The English had made some feeble and irresolute attempts to stop the rapid and brilliant career of the rival Company, and continued to recognise Mahommed Ali as Nabob of the Carnatic. But the dominions of Mahommed Ali consisted of Trichinopoly alone; and Trichinopoly was now invested by Chunda Sahib and his French auxiliaries. To raise the siege seemed impossible. The small force which was then at Madras had no commander. Major Lawrence had returned to England; and not a single officer of established character remained in the settlement. The natives had learned to look with contempt on the mighty nation which was soon to conquer and to rule them. They had seen the French colours flying on Fort St. George; they had seen the chiefs of the

English factory led in triumph through the streets of Pondicherry ; they had seen the arms and counsels of Dupleix every where successful, while the opposition which the authorities of Madras had made to his progress, had served only to expose their own weakness, and to heighten his glory. At this moment, the valour and genius of an obscure English youth suddenly turned the tide of fortune.

Clive was now twenty-five years old. After hesitating for some time between a military and a commercial life, he had at length been placed in a post which partook of both characters, that of commissary to the troops, with the rank of captain. The present emergency called forth all his powers. He represented to his superiors that, unless some vigorous effort were made, Trichinopoly would fall, the house of Anaverdy Khan would perish, and the French would become the real masters of the whole peninsula of India. It was absolutely necessary to strike some daring blow. If an attack were made on Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and the favourite residence of the Nabobs, it was not impossible that the siege of Trichinopoly would be raised. The heads of the English settlement, now thoroughly alarmed by the success of Dupleix, and apprehensive that, in the event of a new war between France and Great Britain, Madras would be instantly taken and destroyed, approved of Clive's plan, and entrusted the execution of it to himself. The young captain was put at the head of two hundred English soldiers, and three hundred sepoys, armed and disciplined after the European fashion. Of the eight officers who commanded this little force under him, only two had ever been in action, and four of the eight were factors of the Company, whom Clive's example had induced to offer their services. The weather was stormy ; *but Clive pushed on, through thunder, lightning, and*

rain, to the gates of Arcot. The garrison, in a panic, evacuated the fort, and the English entered it without a blow.

But Clive well knew that he should not be suffered to retain undisturbed possession of his conquest. He instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to make preparations for sustaining a siege. The garrison, which had fled at his approach, had now recovered from its dismay, and, having been swollen by large reinforcements from the neighbourhood to a force of three thousand men, encamped close to the town. At dead of night, Clive marched out of the fort, attacked the camp by surprise, slew great numbers, dispersed the rest, and returned to his quarters without having lost a single man.

The intelligence of these events was soon carried to Chunda Sahib, who, with his French allies, was besieging Trichinopoly. He immediately detached four thousand men from his camp, and sent them to Arcot. They were speedily joined by the remains of the force which Clive had lately scattered. They were further strengthened by two thousand men from Vellore, and by a still more important reinforcement of a hundred and fifty French soldiers whom Dupleix despatched from Pondicherry. The whole of this army, amounting to about ten thousand men, was under the command of Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.

Rajah Sahib proceeded to invest the fort of Arcot, which seemed quite incapable of sustaining a siege. The walls were ruinous, the ditches dry, the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns, the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The little garrison had been greatly reduced by casualties. It now consisted of a hundred and twenty Europeans and two hundred sepoys. Only four officers were left ; the stock of provisions was scanty ; and the commander, who had to conduct the defence under

circumstances so discouraging, was a young man of five and twenty, who had been bred a book-keeper.

During fifty days the siege went on. During fifty days the young captain maintained the defence, with a  
5 firmness, vigilance, and ability which would have done honour to the oldest marshal in Europe. The breach, however, increased day by day. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any troops so scantily provided with officers might have  
10 been expected to show signs of insubordination ; and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, colour, language, manners, and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed any thing that is re-  
15 lated of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar, or of the Old Guard of Napoleon. The sepoys came to Clive, not to complain of their scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel,  
20 they said, which was strained away from the rice, would suffice for themselves. History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind.

An attempt made by the government of Madras to  
25 relieve the place had failed. But there was hope from another quarter. A body of six thousand Mahrattas, half soldiers, half robbers, under the command of a chief named Morari Row, had been hired to assist Mahommed Ali ; but thinking the French power irresistible, and the triumph  
30 of Chunda Sahib certain, they had hitherto remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. The fame of the defence of Arcot roused them from their torpor. Morari Row declared that he had never before believed that Englishmen could fight, but that he would willingly help them since he saw that they had spirit to help themselves.

Rajah Sahib learned that the Mahrattas were in motion. It was necessary for him to be expeditious. He first tried negotiation. He offered large bribes to Clive, which were rejected with scorn. He vowed that, if his proposals were not accepted, he would instantly storm the fort, and put every man in it to the sword. Clive told him in reply, with characteristic haughtiness, that his father was an usurper, that his army was a rabble, and that he would do well to think twice before he sent such poltroons into a breach defended by English soldiers.

Rajah Sahib determined to storm the fort. The day was well suited to a bold military enterprise. It was the great Mahomedan festival which is sacred to the memory of Hosein the son of Ali. The history of Islam contains nothing more touching than the event which gave rise to that solemnity. The mournful legend relates how the chief of the Fatimites, when all his brave followers had perished round him, drank his latest draught of water, and uttered his latest prayer, how the assassins carried his head in triumph, how the tyrant smote the lifeless lips with his staff, and how a few old men recollected with tears that they had seen those lips pressed to the lips of the Prophet of God. After the lapse of near twelve centuries, the recurrence of this solemn season excites the fiercest and saddest emotions in the bosoms of the devout Moslem of India. They work themselves up to such agonies of rage and lamentation that some, it is said, have given up the ghost from the mere effect of mental excitement. They believe that whoever, during this festival, falls in arms against the infidels, atones by his death for all the sins of his life, and passes at once to the garden of the Houris. It was at this time that Rajah Sahib determined to assault Arcot. Stimulating drugs were employed to aid the effect of religious zeal, and the besiegers, drunk with enthusiasm, drunk with bang, rushed furiously to the attack.



Clive had received secret intelligence of the design, had made his arrangements, and, exhausted by fatigue, had thrown himself on his bed. He was awakened by the alarm, and was instantly at his post. The enemy  
5 advanced driving before them elephants whose foreheads were armed with iron plates. It was expected that the gates would yield to the shock of these living battering-rams. But the huge beasts no sooner felt the English  
10 musket-balls than they turned round, and rushed furiously away, trampling on the multitude which had urged them forward. A raft was launched on the water which filled one part of the ditch. Clive, perceiving that his gunners at that post did not understand their business, took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and cleared  
15 the raft in a few minutes. Where the moat was dry, the assailants mounted with great boldness ; but they were received with a fire so heavy and so well-directed, that it soon quelled the courage even of fanaticism and of intoxication. The rear ranks of the English kept the front ranks supplied  
20 with a constant succession of loaded muskets, and every shot told on the living mass below. After three desperate onsets, the besiegers retired behind the ditch.

The struggle lasted about an hour. Four hundred of the assailants fell. The garrison lost only five or six men.  
25 The besieged passed an anxious night, looking for a renewal of the attack. But when day broke, the enemy were no more to be seen. They had retired, leaving to the English several guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

30 The news was received at Fort St. George with transports of joy and pride. Clive was justly regarded as a man equal to any command. Two hundred English soldiers, and seven hundred sepoys were sent to him, and with this force he instantly commenced offensive operations. He *took the fort of Timery*, effected a junction with a division

of Morari Row's army, and hastened, by forced marches, to attack Rajah Sahib, who was at the head of about five thousand men, of whom three hundred were French. The action was sharp ; but Clive gained a complete victory. The military chest of Rajah Sahib fell into the hands of the conquerors. Six hundred sepoys, who had served in the enemy's army, came over to Clive's quarters, and were taken into the British service. Conjeveram surrendered without a blow. The governor of Arnee deserted Chunda Sahib, and recognised the title of Mahommed Ali.

Had the entire direction of the war been entrusted to Clive, it would probably have been brought to a speedy close. But the timidity and incapacity which appeared in all the movements of the English, except where he was personally present, protracted the struggle. The Mah-rattas muttered that his soldiers were of a different race from the British whom they found elsewhere. The effect of this languor was that in no long time Rajah Sahib, at the head of a considerable army, in which were four hundred French troops, appeared almost under the guns of Fort St. George and laid waste the villas and gardens of the gentlemen of the English settlement. But he was again encountered and defeated by Clive. More than a hundred of the French were killed or taken, a loss more serious than that of thousands of natives. The victorious army marched from the field of battle to Fort St. David. On the road lay the City of the Victory of Dupleix, and the stately monument which was designed to commemorate the triumphs of France in the East. Clive ordered both the city and the monument to be rased to the ground. He was induced, we believe, to take this step, not by personal or national malevolence, but by a just and profound policy. The town and its pompous name, the pillar and its vaunting inscriptions were among the devices by

which Dupleix had laid the public mind of India under a spell. This spell it was Clive's business to break. The natives had been taught that France was confessedly the first power in Europe, and that the English did not presume to dispute her supremacy. No measure could be more effectual for the removing of this delusion than the public and solemn demolition of the French trophies.

The government of Madras, encouraged by these events, determined to send a strong detachment, under Clive, to reinforce the garrison of Trichinopoly. But just at this conjuncture, Major Lawrence arrived from England, and assumed the chief command. From the awkwardness and impatience of control which had characterized Clive, both at school and in the counting-house, it might have been expected that he would not, after such achievements, act with zeal and good humour in a subordinate capacity. But Lawrence had early treated him with kindness ; and it is bare justice to Clive to say that, proud and overbearing as he was, kindness was never thrown away upon him. He cheerfully placed himself under the orders of his old friend, and exerted himself as strenuously in the second post as he could have done in the first. Lawrence well knew the value of such assistance. Though himself gifted with no intellectual faculty higher than plain good sense, he fully appreciated the powers of his brilliant coadjutor. Though he had made a methodical study of military tactics, and, like all men regularly bred to a profession, was disposed to look with disdain on interlopers, he had yet liberality enough to acknowledge that Clive was an exception to common rules. "Some people," he wrote, "are pleased to term Captain Clive fortunate and lucky ; but, in my opinion, from the knowledge I have of the gentleman, he deserved and might expect from his conduct every thing as it fell out ;—a man of an undaunted resolution, of a cool temper,

and of a presence of mind which never left him in the greatest danger—born a soldier ; for, without a military education of any sort, or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgment and good sense, he led on an army like an experienced officer and a brave soldier, with a prudence that certainly warranted success.”

The French had no commander to oppose to the two friends. Dupleix, not inferior in talents for negotiation and intrigue to any European who has borne a part in the revolutions of India, was ill qualified to direct in person military operations. He had not been bred a soldier, and had no inclination to become one. His enemies accused him of personal cowardice ; and he defended himself in a strain worthy of Captain Bobadil. He kept away from shot, he said, because silence and tranquillity were propitious to his genius, and he found it difficult to pursue his meditations amidst the noise of fire-arms. He was thus under the necessity of entrusting to others the execution of his great warlike designs ; and he bitterly complained that he was ill served. He had indeed been assisted by one officer of eminent merit, the celebrated Bussy. But Bussy had marched northward with the Nizam, and was fully employed in looking after his own interests, and those of France, at the court of that prince. Among the officers who remained with Dupleix, there was not a single man of capacity ; and many of them were boys, at whose ignorance and folly the common soldiers laughed.

The English triumphed every where. The besiegers of Trichinopoly were themselves besieged and compelled to capitulate. Chunda Sahib fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, and was put to death, at the instigation probably of his competitor, Mahommed Ali. The spirit of Dupleix, however, was unconquerable, and his resources inexhaustible. From his employers in Europe he no longer received help or countenance. They condemned

his policy. They gave him no pecuniary assistance. They sent him for troops only the sweepings of the galleys. Yet still he persisted, intrigued, bribed, promised, lavished his private fortune, strained his credit, procured  
5 new diplomas from Delhi, raised up new enemies to the government of Madras on every side, and found tools even among the allies of the English Company. But all was in vain. Slowly, but steadily, the power of Britain continued to increase, and that of France to decline.

10 The health of Clive had never been good during his residence in India ; and his constitution was now so much impaired that he determined to return to England. Before his departure he undertook a service of considerable difficulty, and performed it with his usual vigour and  
15 dexterity. The forts of Covelong and Chingleput were occupied by French garrisons. It was determined to send a force against them. But the only force available for this purpose was of such a description that no officer but Clive would risk his reputation by commanding it. It  
20 consisted of five hundred newly levied sepoy, and two hundred recruits who had just landed from England, and who were the worst and lowest wretches that the Company's crimps could pick up in the flash-houses of London. Clive, ill and exhausted as he was, undertook to make an army of  
25 this undisciplined rabble, and marched with them to Covelong. A shot from the fort killed one of these extraordinary soldiers ; on which all the rest faced about and ran away, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Clive rallied them. On another occasion, the noise of a gun  
30 terrified the sentinels so much that one of them was found, some hours later, at the bottom of a well. Clive gradually accustomed them to danger, and, by exposing himself constantly in the most perilous situations, shamed them into courage. He at length succeeded in forming a respectable force out of his unpromising materials. Cove-

long fell. Clive learned that a strong detachment was marching to relieve it from Chingleput. He took measures to prevent the enemy from learning that they were too late, laid an ambuscade for them on the road, killed a hundred of them with one fire, took three hundred prisoners, pursued the fugitives to the gates of Chingleput, laid siege instantly to that fastness, reputed one of the strongest in India, made a breach, and was on the point of storming when the French commandant capitulated and retired with his men. 10

Clive returned to Madras victorious, but in a state of health which rendered it impossible for him to remain there long. He married at this time a young lady of the name of Maskelyne, sister of the eminent mathematician, who long held the post of Astronomer Royal. She is 15 described as handsome and accomplished ; and her husband's letters, it is said, contain proofs that he was devotedly attached to her.

Almost immediately after the marriage, Clive embarked with his bride for England. He returned a very 20 different person from the poor slighted boy who had been sent out ten years before to seek his fortune. He was only twenty-seven ; yet his country already respected him as one of her first soldiers. There was then general peace in Europe. The Carnatic was the only part of the 25 world where the English and French were in arms against each other. The vast schemes of Dupleix had excited no small uneasiness in the city of London ; and the rapid turn of fortune, which was chiefly owing to the courage and talents of Clive, had been hailed with great delight. 30 The young captain was known at the India House by the honourable nickname of General Clive, and was toasted by that appellation at the feasts of the Directors. On his arrival in England, he found himself an object of general interest and admiration. The East India Com-

pany thanked him for his services in the warmest terms, and bestowed on him a sword set with diamonds. With rare delicacy, he refused to receive this token of gratitude unless a similar compliment were paid to his friend and  
5 commander, Lawrence.

It may easily be supposed that Clive was most cordially welcomed home by his family, who were delighted by his success, though they seem to have been hardly able to comprehend how their naughty idle Bobby had  
10 become so great a man. His father had been singularly hard of belief. Not until the news of the defence of Arcot arrived in England was the old gentleman heard to growl out that, after all, the booby had something in him. His expressions of approbation became stronger and stronger  
15 as news arrived of one brilliant exploit after another ; and he was at length immoderately fond and proud of his son.

Clive's relations had very substantial reasons for rejoicing at his return. Considerable sums of prize money  
20 had fallen to his share ; and he had brought home a moderate fortune, part of which he expended in extricating his father from pecuniary difficulties, and in redeeming the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived  
25 splendidly, dressed gaily even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition.

30 At the time of the general election of 1754, the government was in a very singular state. There was scarcely any formal opposition. The Jacobites had been cowed by the issue of the last rebellion. The Tory party had fallen into utter contempt. It had been deserted by all the men of talents who had belonged to it, and had

scarcely given a symptom of life during some years. The small faction which had been held together by the influence and promises of Prince Frederic, had been dispersed by his death. Almost every public man of distinguished talents in the kingdom, whatever his early 5 connexions might have been, was in office, and called himself a Whig. But this extraordinary appearance of concord was quite delusive. The administration itself was distracted by bitter enmities and conflicting pretensions. The chief object of its members was to depress 10 and supplant each other. The prime minister, Newcastle, weak, timid, jealous, and perfidious, was at once detested and despised by some of the most important members of his government, and by none more than by Henry Fox, the Secretary at War. This able, daring, and ambitious 15 man seized every opportunity of crossing the First Lord of the Treasury, from whom he well knew that he had little to dread and little to hope; for Newcastle was through life equally afraid of breaking with men of parts and of promoting them. 20

Newcastle had set his heart on returning two members for St. Michael, one of those wretched Cornish boroughs which were swept away by the Reform Act in 1832. He was opposed by Lord Sandwich, whose influence had long been paramount there: and Fox 25 exerted himself strenuously in Sandwich's behalf. Clive, who had been introduced to Fox, and very kindly received by him, was brought forward on the Sandwich interest, and was returned. But a petition was presented against the return, and was backed by the whole influ- 30 ence of the Duke of Newcastle.

The case was heard, according to the usage of that time, before a committee of the whole House. Questions respecting elections were then considered merely as party questions. Judicial impartiality was not even affected.



Sir Robert Walpole was in the habit of saying openly that, in election battles, there ought to be no quarter. On the present occasion the excitement was great. The matter really at issue was, not whether Clive had been properly or improperly returned, but whether Newcastle or Fox was to be master of the new House of Commons, and consequently first minister. The contest was long and obstinate, and success seemed to lean sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. Fox put forth all his rare powers of debate, beat half the lawyers in the House at their own weapons, and carried division after division against the whole influence of the Treasury. The committee decided in Clive's favour. But when the resolution was reported to the House, things took a different course. The remnant of the Tory Opposition, contemptible as it was, had yet sufficient weight to turn the scale between the nicely balanced parties of Newcastle and Fox. Newcastle the Tories could only despise. Fox they hated, as the boldest and most subtle politician and the ablest debater among the Whigs, as the steady friend of Walpole, as the devoted adherent of the Duke of Cumberland. After wavering till the last moment, they determined to vote in a body with the Prime Minister's friends. The consequence was that the House, by a small majority, rescinded the decision of the committee, and Clive was unseated.

Ejected from Parliament and straitened in his means, he naturally began to look again towards India. The Company and the Government were eager to avail themselves of his services. A treaty favourable to England had indeed been concluded in the Carnatic. Dupleix had been superseded, and had returned with the wreck of his immense fortune to Europe, where calumny and chicanery soon hunted him to his grave. But many signs indicated that a war between France and Great

Britain was at hand; and it was therefore thought desirable to send an able commander to the Company's settlements in India. The Directors appointed Clive governor of Fort St. David. The King gave him the commission of a lieutenant-colonel in the British army, and in 1755 he again sailed for Asia.

**V** The first service on which he was employed after his return to the East was the reduction of the stronghold of Gheriah. This fortress, built on a craggy promontory, and almost surrounded by the ocean, was the den of a pirate named Angria, whose barks had long been the terror of the Arabian Gulf. Admiral Watson, who commanded the English squadron in the Eastern seas, burned Angria's fleet, while Clive attacked the fastness by land. The place soon fell, and a booty of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling was divided among the conquerors.

After this exploit, Clive proceeded to his government of Fort St. David. Before he had been there two months, he received intelligence which called forth all the energy of his bold and active mind.

**X** — Of the provinces which had been subject to the house of Tamerlane, the wealthiest was Bengal. No part of India possessed such natural advantages, both for agriculture and for commerce. The Ganges, rushing through a hundred channels to the sea, has formed a vast plain of rich mould which, even under the tropical sky, rivals the verdure of an English April. The rice fields yield an increase such as is elsewhere unknown. Spices, sugar, vegetable oils, are produced with marvellous exuberance. The rivers afford an inexhaustible supply of fish. The desolate islands along the sea-coast, overgrown by noxious vegetation, and swarming with deer and tigers, supply the cultivated districts with abundance of salt. The great stream which fertilises the soil is, at

the same time, the chief highway of Eastern commerce. On its banks, and on those of its tributary waters, are the wealthiest marts, the most splendid capitals, and the most sacred shrines of India. The tyranny of man had  
5 for ages struggled in vain against the overflowing bounty of nature. In spite of the Mussulman despot, and of the Mahratta freebooter, Bengal was known through the East as the garden of Eden, as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly. Distant provinces  
20 were nourished from the overflowing of its granaries ; and the noble ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its looms. The race by whom this rich tract was peopled, enervated by a soft climate and accustomed to peaceful employments, bore the same  
15 relation to other Asiatics which the Asiatics generally bear to the bold and energetic children of Europe. The Castilians have a proverb, that in Valencia the earth is water and the men women ; and the description is at least equally applicable to the vast plain of the Lower  
20 Ganges. Whatever the Bengalee does he does languidly. His favourite pursuits are sedentary. He shrinks from bodily exertion ; and, though voluble in dispute, and singularly pertinacious in the war of chicane, he seldom engages in a personal conflict, and scarcely ever enlists  
25 as a soldier. We doubt whether there be a hundred genuine Bengalees in the whole army of the East India Company. There never, perhaps, existed a people so thoroughly fitted by nature and by habit for a foreign yoke.

30 The great commercial companies of Europe had long possessed factories in Bengal. The French were settled, as they still are, at Chandernagore on the Hoogley. Higher up the stream the Dutch traders held Chinsurah. Nearer to the sea the English had built Fort William. A church and ample warehouses rose in the vicinity. A

row of spacious houses, belonging to the chief factors of the East India Company, lined the banks of the river ; and in the neighbourhood had sprung up a large and busy native town, where some Hindoo merchants of great opulence had fixed their abode. But the tract now covered 5 by the palaces of Chowringhee contained only a few miserable huts thatched with straw. A jungle, abandoned to water-fowl and alligators, covered the site of the present Citadel, and the Course, which is now daily crowded at sunset with the gayest equipages of Calcutta. For the 10 ground on which the settlement stood, the English, like other great landowners, paid rent to the government : and they were, like other great landowners, permitted to exercise a certain jurisdiction within their domain.

The great province of Bengal, together with Orissa 15 and Bahar, had long been governed by a viceroy, whom the English called Aliverdy Khan, and who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, had become virtually independent. He died in 1756, and the sovereignty descended to his grandson, a youth under twenty years of 20 age, who bore the name of Surajah Dowlah. Oriental despots are perhaps the worst class of human beings ; and this unhappy boy was one of the worst specimens of his class. His understanding was naturally feeble, and his temper naturally unamiable. His education had 25 been such as would have enervated even a vigorous intellect, and perverted even a generous disposition. He was unreasonable, because nobody ever dared to reason with him, and selfish, because he had never been made to feel himself dependent on the good will of others. Early 30 debauchery had unnerved his body and his mind. He indulged immoderately in the use of ardent spirits, which inflamed his weak brain almost to madness. His chosen companions were flatterers, sprung from the dregs of the people, and recommended by nothing but buffoonery and

servility. It is said that he had arrived at that last stage of human depravity, when cruelty becomes pleasing for its own sake, when the sight of pain, as pain, where no advantage is to be gained, no offence punished, no danger averted, is an agreeable excitement. It had early been his amusement to torture beasts and birds; and, when he grew up, he enjoyed with still keener relish the misery of his fellow-creatures.

From a child Surajah Dowlah had hated the English. It was his whim to do so; and his whims were never opposed. He had also formed a very exaggerated notion of the wealth which might be obtained by plundering them; and his feeble and uncultivated mind was incapable of perceiving that the riches of Calcutta, had they been even greater than he imagined, would not compensate him for what he must lose, if the European trade, of which Bengal was a chief seat, should be driven by his violence to some other quarter. Pretexts for a quarrel were readily found. The English, in expectation of a war with France, had begun to fortify their settlement without special permission from the Nabob. A rich native, whom he longed to plunder, had taken refuge at Calcutta, and had not been delivered up. On such grounds as these Surajah Dowlah marched with a great army against Fort William.

The servants of the Company at Madras had been forced by Dupleix to become statesmen and soldiers. Those in Bengal were still mere traders, and were terrified and bewildered by the approaching danger. The governor, who had heard much of Surajah Dowlah's cruelty, was frightened out of his wits, jumped into a boat, and took refuge in the nearest ship. The military commandant thought that he could not do better than follow so good an example. The fort was taken after a feeble resistance; and great numbers of the English fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Nabob seated himself with

regal pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell, the first in rank among the prisoners, to be brought before him. His Highness talked about the insolence of the English, and grumbled at the smallness of the treasure which he had found ; but promised to spare their 5 lives, and retired to rest.

Then was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left at the mercy of the guards, and the guards de- 10 termined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. 15 The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was one hundred and forty-six. When they 20 were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking ; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the Nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated ; they 25 entreated ; but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them.

Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which 30 Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell who even in that extremity,

retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was that nothing could be done without the Nabob's orders, that the Nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him.

5 Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them.

10 The gaolers in the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The Nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened.

15 But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors, by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own

20 mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up.

But these things which, after the lapse of more than

25 eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage Nabob. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered

30 to depart ; but those from whom it was thought that any thing could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they

chose to tell about the treasures of the Company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the Nabob procured their release. 5 One Englishwoman had survived that night. She was placed in the haram of the Prince at Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah, in the meantime, sent letters to his nominal sovereign at Delhi, describing the late conquest in the most pompous language. He placed a garrison 10 in Fort William, forbade Englishmen to dwell in the neighbourhood, and directed that, in memory of his great actions, Calcutta should thenceforward be called Alinagore, that is to say, the Port of God.

In August the news of the fall of Calcutta reached 15 Madras, and excited the fiercest and bitterest resentment. The cry of the whole settlement was for vengeance. Within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the intelligence it was determined that an expedition should be sent to the Hoogley, and that Clive should be at the head of the land 20 forces. The naval armament was under the command of Admiral Watson. Nine hundred English infantry, fine troops and full of spirit, and fifteen hundred sepoys, composed the army which sailed to punish a Prince who had more subjects than Louis the Fifteenth or the Empress 25 Maria Theresa. In October the expedition sailed; but it had to make its way against adverse winds, and did not reach Bengal till December.

The Nabob was revelling in fancied security at Moorshedabad. He was so profoundly ignorant of the state of 30 foreign countries that he often used to say that there were not ten thousand men in all Europe; and it had never occurred to him as possible that the English would dare to invade his dominions. But, though undisturbed by any fear of their military power, he began to miss them greatly.



His revenues fell off ; and his ministers succeeded in making him understand that a ruler may sometimes find it more profitable to protect traders in the open enjoyment of their gains than to put them to the torture for the purpose of discovering hidden chests of gold and jewels. He was already disposed to permit the Company to resume its mercantile operations in his country, when he received the news that an English armament was in the Hoogley. He instantly ordered all his troops to assemble at Moorshedabad, and marched towards Calcutta.

✓ Clive had commenced operations with his usual vigour. He took Budgebudge, routed the garrison of Fort William, recovered Calcutta, stormed and sacked Hoogley. The Nabob, already disposed to make some concessions to the English, was confirmed in his pacific disposition by these proofs of their power and spirit. He accordingly made overtures to the chiefs of the invading armament, and offered to restore the factory, and to give compensation to those whom he had despoiled.

Clive's profession was war ; and he felt that there was something discreditable in an accommodation with Surajah Dowlah. But his power was limited. A committee, chiefly composed of servants of the Company who had fled from Calcutta, had the principal direction of affairs ; and these persons were eager to be restored to their posts and compensated for their losses. The government of Madras, apprised that war had commenced in Europe, and apprehensive of an attack from the French, became impatient for the return of the armament. The promises of the Nabob were large, the chances of a contest doubtful ; and Clive consented to treat, though he expressed his regret that things should not be concluded in so glorious a manner as he could have wished.

With this negotiation commences a new chapter in the life of Clive. Hitherto he had been merely a soldier,

carrying into effect, with eminent ability and valour, the plans of others. Henceforth he is to be chiefly regarded as a statesman ; and his military movements are to be considered as subordinate to his political designs. That in his new capacity he displayed great ability, and obtained great success, is unquestionable. But it is also unquestionable that the transactions in which he now began to take a part have left a stain on his moral character.

We can by no means agree with Sir John Malcolm, who is obstinately resolved to see nothing but honour and integrity in the conduct of his hero. But we can as little agree with Mr. Mill, who has gone so far as to say that Clive was a man "to whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang." Clive seems to us to have been constitutionally the very opposite of a knave, bold even to temerity, sincere even to indiscretion, hearty in friendship, open in enmity. Neither in his private life, nor in those parts of his public life in which he had to do with his countrymen, do we find any signs of a propensity to cunning. On the contrary, in all the disputes in which he was engaged as an Englishman against Englishmen, from his boxing-matches at school to those stormy altercations at the India House and in Parliament amidst which his later years were passed, his very faults were those of a high and magnanimous spirit. The truth seems to have been that he considered Oriental politics as a game in which nothing was unfair. He knew that the standard of morality among the natives of India differed widely from that established in England. He knew that he had to deal with men destitute of what in Europe is called honour, with men who would give any promise without hesitation, and break any promise without shame, with men who would unscrupulously employ corruption, perjury, forgery, to compass their ends. His

letters show that the great difference between Asiatic and European morality was constantly in his thoughts. He seems to have imagined, most erroneously in our opinion, that he could effect nothing against such adversaries, if  
5 he was content to be bound by ties from which they were free, if he went on telling truth, and hearing none, if he fulfilled, to his own hurt, all his engagements with confederates who never kept an engagement that was not to their advantage. Accordingly this man, in the other parts  
10 of his life an honourable English gentleman and soldier, was no sooner matched against an Indian intriguer, than he became himself an Indian intriguer, and descended, without scruple, to falsehood, to hypocritical caresses, to the substitution of documents, and to the counterfeiting  
15 of hands.

The negotiations between the English and the Nabob were carried on chiefly by two agents, Mr. Watts, a servant of the Company, and a Bengalee of the name of Omichund. This Omichund had been one of the  
20 wealthiest native merchants resident at Calcutta, and had sustained great losses in consequence of the Nabob's expedition against that place. In the course of his commercial transactions, he had seen much of the English and was peculiarly qualified to serve as a medium of  
25 communication between them and a native court. He possessed great influence with his own race, and had in large measure the Hindoo talents, quick observation, tact, dexterity, perseverance, and the Hindoo vices, servility, greediness, and treachery.

30 The Nabob behaved with all the faithlessness of an Indian statesman, and with all the levity of a boy whose mind had been enfeebled by power and self-indulgence. He promised, retracted, hesitated, evaded. At one time he advanced with his army in a threatening manner towards Calcutta; but when he saw the resolute front:

which the English presented, he fell back in alarm, and consented to make peace with them on their own terms. The treaty was no sooner concluded than he formed new designs against them. He intrigued with the French authorities at Chandernagore. He invited Bussy to march from the Deccan to the Hoogley, and to drive the English out of Bengal. All this was well known to Clive and Watson. They determined accordingly to strike a decisive blow and to attack Chandernagore, before the force there could be strengthened by new arrivals, either from the south of India or from Europe. Watson directed the expedition by water, Clive by land. The success of the combined movements was rapid and complete. The fort, the garrison, the artillery, the military stores, all fell into the hands of the English. Near five hundred European troops were among the prisoners.

The Nabob had feared and hated the English, even while he was still able to oppose to them their French rivals. The French were now vanquished; and he began to regard the English with still greater fear and still greater hatred. His weak and unprincipled mind oscillated between servility and insolence. One day he sent a large sum to Calcutta, as part of the compensation due for the wrongs which he had committed. The next day he sent a present of jewels to Bussy, exhorting that distinguished officer to hasten to protect Bengal "against Clive, the daring in war, on whom," says his Highness, "may all bad fortune attend." He ordered his army to march against the English. He countermanded his orders. He tore Clive's letters. He then sent answers in the most florid language of compliment. He ordered Watts out of his presence, and threatened to impale him. He again sent for Watts, and begged pardon for the insult. In the meantime, his wretched maladministration, his folly, his dissolute manners, and his love of the lowest

company, had disgusted all classes of his subjects, soldiers, traders, civil functionaries, the proud and ostentatious Mahommedans, the timid, supple, and parsimonious Hindoos. A formidable confederacy was formed against him, in which were included Roydullub, the minister of finance, Meer Jaffier, the principal commander of the troops, and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India. The plot was confided to the English agents, and a communication was opened between the malcontents at Moorsshedabad and the Committee at Calcutta.

In the committee there was much hesitation ; but Clive's voice was given in favour of the conspirators, and his vigour and firmness bore down all opposition. It was determined that the English should lend their powerful assistance to depose Surajah Dowlah, and to place Meer Jaffier on the throne of Bengal. In return, Meer Jaffier promised ample compensation to the Company and its servants, and a liberal donative to the army, the navy, and the committee. The odious vices of Surajah Dowlah, the wrongs which the English had suffered at his hands, the dangers to which our trade must have been exposed had he continued to reign, appear to us fully to justify the resolution of deposing him. But nothing can justify the dissimulation which Clive stooped to practise. He wrote to Surajah Dowlah in terms so affectionate that they for a time lulled that weak prince into perfect security. The same courier who carried this "soothing letter," as Clive calls it, to the Nabob, carried to Mr. Watts a letter in the following terms : "Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing. I will join him with five thousand men who never turned their backs. Assure him I will march night and day to his assistance, and stand by him as long as I have a man left."

It was impossible that a plot which had so many ramifications should long remain entirely concealed. Enough

reached the ears of the Nabob to arouse his suspicions. But he was soon quieted by the fictions and artifices which the inventive genius of Omichund produced with miraculous readiness. All was going well ; the plot was nearly ripe ; when Clive learned that Omichund was likely to play false. The artful Bengalee had been promised a liberal compensation for all that he had lost at Calcutta. But this would not satisfy him. His services had been great. He held the thread of the whole intrigue. By one word breathed in the ear of Surajah Dowlah, he could undo all that he had done. The lives of Watts, of Meer Jaffier, of all the conspirators, were at his mercy ; and he determined to take advantage of his situation and to make his own terms. He demanded three hundred thousand pounds sterling as the price of his secrecy and of his assistance. The committee, incensed by the treachery and appalled by the danger, knew not what course to take. But Clive was more than Omichund's match in Omichund's own arts. The man, he said, was a villain. Any artifice which would defeat such knavery was justifiable. The best course would be to promise what was asked. Omichund would soon be at their mercy ; and then they might punish him by withholding from him, not only the bribe which he now demanded, but also the compensation which all the other sufferers of Calcutta were to receive.

His advice was taken. But how was this wary and sagacious Hindoo to be deceived ? He had demanded that an article touching his claims should be inserted in the treaty between Meer Jaffier and the English, and he would not be satisfied unless he saw it with his own eyes. Clive had an expedient ready. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red, the former real, the latter fictitious. In the former Omichund's name was not mentioned ; the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained a stipulation in his favour.

But another difficulty arose. Admiral Watson had scruples about signing the red treaty. Omichund's vigilance and acuteness were such that the absence of so important a name would probably awaken his suspicions.  
5 But Clive was not a man to do any thing by halves. We almost blush to write it. He forged Admiral Watson's name.

All was now ready for action. Mr. Watts fled secretly from Moorshedabad. Clive put his troops in motion, and  
10 wrote to the Nabob in a tone very different from that of his previous letters. He set forth all the wrongs which the British had suffered, offered to submit the points in dispute to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, and concluded by announcing that, as the rains were about to set in, he  
15 and his men would do themselves the honour of waiting on his Highness for an answer.

Surajah Dowlah instantly assembled his whole force, and marched to encounter the English. It had been agreed that Meer Jaffier should separate himself from the  
20 Nabob, and carry over his division to Clive. But, as the decisive moment approached, the fears of the conspirator overpowered his ambition. Clive had advanced to Cosimbuzar ; the Nabob lay with a mighty power a few miles off at Plassey ; and still Meer Jaffier delayed to  
25 fulfil his engagements, and returned evasive answers to the earnest remonstrances of the English general.

Clive was in a painfully anxious situation. He could place no confidence in the sincerity or in the courage of his confederate : and, whatever confidence he might  
30 place in his own military talents, and in the valour and discipline of his troops, it was no light thing to engage an army twenty times as numerous as his own. Before him lay a river over which it was easy to advance, but over which, if things went ill, not one of his little band would ever return. On this occasion, for the first and for

the last time, his dauntless spirit, during a few hours, shrank from the fearful responsibility of making a decision. He called a council of war. The majority pronounced against fighting ; and Clive declared his concurrence with the majority. Long afterwards, he said that he had never called but one council of war, and that, if he had taken the advice of that council, the British would never have been masters of Bengal. But scarcely had the meeting broken up when he was himself again. He retired alone under the shade of some trees, and passed nearly an hour there in thought. He came back determined to put every thing to the hazard, and gave orders that all should be in readiness for passing the river on the morrow.

The river was passed ; and, at the close of a toilsome day's march, the army, long after sunset, took up its quarters in a grove of mango-trees near Plassey, within a mile of the enemy. Clive was unable to sleep ; he heard, through the whole night, the sound of drums and cymbals from the vast camp of the Nabob. It is not strange that even his stout heart should now and then have sunk, when he reflected against what odds, and for what a prize, he was in a few hours to contend.

Nor was the rest of Surajah Dowlah more peaceful. His mind, at once weak and stormy, was distracted by wild and horrible apprehensions. Appalled by the greatness and nearness of the crisis, distrusting his captains, dreading every one who approached him, dreading to be left alone, he sat gloomily in his tent, haunted, a Greek poet would have said, by the furies of those who had cursed him with their last breath in the Black Hole.

The day broke, the day which was to decide the fate of India. At sunrise the army of the Nabob, pouring through many openings from the camp, began to move towards the grove where the English lay. Forty thousand infantry, armed with firelocks, pikes, swords, bows and



arrows, covered the plain. They were accompanied by fifty pieces of ordnance of the largest size, each tugged by a long team of white oxen, and each pushed on from behind by an elephant. Some smaller guns, under the direction of a few French auxiliaries, were perhaps more formidable. The cavalry were fifteen thousand, drawn, not from the effeminate population of Bengal, but from the bolder race which inhabits the northern provinces; and the practised eye of Clive could perceive that both the men and the horses were more powerful than those of the Carnatic. The force which he had to oppose to this great multitude consisted of only three thousand men. But of these nearly a thousand were English; and all were led by English officers, and trained in the English discipline. Conspicuous in the ranks of the little army were the men of the Thirty-ninth Regiment, which still bears on its colours, amidst many honourable additions won under Wellington in Spain and Gascony, the name of Plassey, and the proud motto, *Primus in Indis*.

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the artillery of the Nabob did scarcely any execution, while the few field-pieces of the English produced great effect. Several of the most distinguished officers in Surajah Dowlah's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expediency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered his army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment, and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more completely routed. The little band of Frenchmen who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept

down the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Surajah Dowlah were dispersed, never to reassemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain. But their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable waggons, innumerable cattle, remained in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of near sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain.

Meer Jaffier had given no assistance to the English during the action. But as soon as he saw that the fate of the day was decided, he drew off his division of the army, and, when the battle was over, sent his congratulations to his ally. The next morning he repaired to the English quarters, not a little uneasy as to the reception which awaited him there. He gave evident signs of alarm when a guard was drawn out to receive him with the honours due to his rank. But his apprehensions were speedily removed. Clive came forward to meet him, embraced him, saluted him as Nabob of the three great provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, listened graciously to his apologies, and advised him to march without delay to Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah had fled from the field of battle with all the speed with which a fleet camel could carry him, and arrived at Moorshedabad in little more than twenty-four hours. There he called his counsellors round him. The wisest advised him to put himself into the hands of the English, from whom he had nothing worse to fear than deposition and confinement. But he attributed this suggestion to treachery. Others urged him to try the chance of war again. He approved the advice, and issued orders accordingly. But he wanted spirit to adhere even during one day to a manly resolution. He learned that Meer Jaffier had arrived ; and his terrors

became-insupportable. Disguised in a mean dress, with a casket of jewels in his hand, he let himself down at night from a window of his palace, and, accompanied by only two attendants, embarked on the river for Patna.

5 In a few days Clive arrived at Moorshedabad, escorted by two hundred English soldiers and three hundred sepoys. For his residence had been assigned a palace, which was surrounded by a garden so spacious that all the troops who accompanied him could conveniently encamp  
10 within it. The ceremony of the installation of Meer Jaffier was instantly performed. Clive led the new Nabob to the seat of honour, placed him on it, presented to him, after the immemorial fashion of the East, an offering of gold, and then, turning to the natives who filled the hall, congratulated them on the good fortune which had freed them  
15 from a tyrant. He was compelled on this occasion to use the services of an interpreter ; for it is remarkable that, long as he resided in India, intimately acquainted as he was with Indian politics and with the Indian character, and adored as he was by his Indian soldiery, he  
20 never learned to express himself with facility in any Indian language. He is said indeed to have been sometimes under the necessity of employing, in his intercourse with natives of India, the smattering of Portuguese  
25 which he had acquired, when a lad in Brazil.

The new sovereign was now called upon to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered with his allies. A conference was held at the house of Jugget Seit, the great banker, for the purpose of making the necessary  
30 arrangements. Omichund came thither, fully believing himself to stand high in the favour of Clive, who, with dissimulation, surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had up to that day treated him with undiminished kindness. The white treaty was produced and read. Clive then turned to Mr. Scrafton, one of the servants of

the Company, and said in English, "It is now time to undeceive Omichund." "Omichund," said Mr. Scrafton in Hindostanee, "the red treaty is a trick. You are to have nothing." Omichund fell back insensible into the arms of his attendants. He revived; but his mind was irreparably ruined. Clive, who, though little troubled by scruples of conscience in his dealings with Indian politicians, was not inhuman, seems to have been touched. He saw Omichund a few days later, spoke to him kindly, advised him to make a pilgrimage to one of the great temples of India, in the hope that change of scene might restore his health, and was even disposed, notwithstanding all that had passed, again to employ him in the public service. But from the moment of that sudden shock, the unhappy man sank gradually into idiocy. He, who had formerly been distinguished by the strength of his understanding and the simplicity of his habits, now squandered the remains of his fortune on childish trinkets, and loved to exhibit himself dressed in rich garments, and hung with precious stones. In this abject state he languished a few months, and then died.

We should not think it necessary to offer any remarks for the purpose of directing the judgment of our readers with respect to this transaction, had not Sir John Malcolm undertaken to defend it in all its parts. He regrets, indeed, that it was necessary to employ means so liable to abuse as forgery; but he will not admit that any blame attaches to those who deceived the deceiver. He thinks that the English were not bound to keep faith with one who kept no faith with them, and that, if they had fulfilled their engagements with the wily Bengalee, so signal an example of successful treason would have produced a crowd of imitators. Now, we will not discuss this point on any rigid principles of morality. Indeed, it is quite unnecessary to do so: for, looking at the ques-

tion as a question of expediency in the lowest sense of the word, and using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Borgia, we are convinced that Clive was altogether in the wrong, and that he committed, not merely a crime, but a blunder. That honesty is the best policy is a maxim which we firmly believe to be generally correct, even with respect to the temporal interest of individuals ; but, with respect to societies, the rule is subject to still fewer exceptions, and that for this reason, that the life of societies is longer than the life of individuals. It is possible to mention men who have owed great worldly prosperity to breaches of private faith. But we doubt whether it be possible to mention a state which has on the whole been a gainer by a breach of public faith. The entire history of British India is an illustration of the great truth, that it is not prudent to oppose perfidy to perfidy, and that the most efficient weapon with which men can encounter falsehood is truth. During a long course of years, the English rulers of India, surrounded by allies and enemies whom no engagement could bind, have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness ; and the event has proved that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom. English valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental empire than English veracity. All that we could have gained by imitating the doublings, the evasions, the fictions, the perjuries which have been employed against us, is as nothing when compared with what we have gained by being the one power in India on whose word reliance can be placed. No oath which superstition can devise, no hostage however precious, inspires a hundredth part of the confidence which is produced by the "yea, yea," and "nay, nay," of a British envoy. No fastness, however strong by art or nature, gives to its inmates a

security like that enjoyed by the chief who, passing through the territories of powerful and deadly enemies, is armed with the British guarantee. The mightiest princes of the East can scarcely, by the offer of enormous usury, draw forth any portion of the wealth which is concealed under the hearths of their subjects. The British Government offers little more than four per cent. ; and avarice hastens to bring forth tens of millions of rupees from its most secret repositories. A hostile monarch may promise mountains of gold to our sepoy, on condition that they will desert the standard of the Company. The Company promises only a moderate pension after a long service. But every sepoy knows that the promise of the Company will be kept : he knows that if he lives a hundred years his rice and salt are as secure as the salary of the Governor-General ; and he knows that there is not another state in India which would not, in spite of the most solemn vows, leave him to die of hunger in a ditch as soon as he had ceased to be useful. The greatest advantage which a government can possess is to be the one trustworthy government in the midst of governments which nobody can trust. This advantage we enjoy in Asia. Had we acted during the last two generations on the principles which Sir John Malcolm appears to have considered as sound, had we, as often as we had to deal with people like Omichund, retaliated by lying and forging, and breaking faith, after their fashion, it is our firm belief that no courage or capacity could have upheld our empire.

Sir John Malcolm admits that Clive's breach of faith could be justified only by the strongest necessity. As we think that breach of faith not only unnecessary, but most inexpedient, we need hardly say that we altogether condemn it.

Omichund was not the only victim of the revolution.

Surajah Dowlah was taken a few days after his flight, and was brought before Meer Jaffier. There he flung himself on the ground in convulsions of fear, and with tears and loud cries implored the mercy which he had never shown. Meer Jaffier hesitated; but his son Meeran, a youth of seventeen, who in feebleness of brain and savageness of nature greatly resembled the wretched captive, was implacable. Surajah Dowlah was led into a secret chamber, to which in a short time the ministers of death were sent. In this act the English bore no part; and Meer Jaffier understood so much of their feelings, that he thought it necessary to apologise to them for having avenged them on their most malignant enemy.

The shower of wealth now fell copiously on the Company and its servants. A sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, in coined silver, was sent down the river from Moorshedabad to Fort William. The fleet which conveyed this treasure consisted of more than a hundred boats, and performed its triumphal voyage with flags flying and music playing. Calcutta, which a few months before had been desolate, was now more prosperous than ever. Trade revived; and the signs of affluence appeared in every English house. As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were piled up, after the usage of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected the florins and byzants with which, before any European ship had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and was at liberty to help himself. He accepted between two and three hundred thousand pounds.

The pecuniary transactions between Meer Jaffier and Clive were sixteen years later condemned by the public

voice, and severely criticised in Parliament. They are vehemently defended by Sir John Malcolm. The accusers of the victorious general represented his gains as the wages of corruption, or as plunder extorted at the point of the sword from a helpless ally. The biographer, on the other hand, considers these great acquisitions as free gifts, honourable alike to the donor and to the receiver, and compares them to the rewards bestowed by foreign powers on Marlborough, on Nelson, and on Wellington. It had always, he says, been customary in the East to give and receive presents ; and there was, as yet, no Act of Parliament positively prohibiting English functionaries in India from profiting by this Asiatic usage. This reasoning, we own, does not quite satisfy us. We do not suspect Clive of selling the interests of his employers or his country ; but we cannot acquit him of having done what, if not in itself evil, was yet of evil example. Nothing is more clear than that a general ought to be the servant of his own government, and of no other. It follows that whatever rewards he receives for his services ought to be given either by his own government, or with the full knowledge and approbation of his own government. This rule ought to be strictly maintained even with respect to the merest bauble, with respect to a cross, a medal, or a yard of coloured riband. But how can any government be well served, if those who command its forces are at liberty, without its permission, without its privity, to accept princely fortunes from its allies ? It is idle to say that there was then no Act of Parliament prohibiting the practice of taking presents from Asiatic sovereigns. It is not on the Act which was passed at a later period for the purpose of preventing any such taking of presents, but on grounds which were valid before that Act was passed, on grounds of common law and common sense, that we arraign the



conduct of Clive. There is no Act that we know of, prohibiting the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from being in the pay of continental powers. But it is not the less true that a Secretary who should receive a secret  
 5 pension from France would grossly violate his duty, and would deserve severe punishment. Sir John Malcolm compares the conduct of Clive with that of the Duke of Wellington. Suppose—and we beg pardon for putting  
 such a supposition even for the sake of argument—that the  
 20 Duke of Wellington had, after the campaign of 1815, and while he commanded the army of occupation in France, privately accepted two hundred thousand pounds from Louis the Eighteenth, as a mark of gratitude for the great services which his Grace had rendered to the  
 25 House of Bourbon; what would be thought of such a transaction? Yet the statute-book no more forbids the taking of presents in Europe now than it forbade the taking of presents in Asia then.

At the same time, it must be admitted that, in Clive's  
 30 case, there were many extenuating circumstances. He considered himself as the general, not of the Crown, but of the Company. The Company had, by implication at least, authorised its agents to enrich themselves by means of the liberality of the native princes, and by  
 35 other means still more objectionable. It was hardly to be expected that the servant should entertain stricter notions of his duty than were entertained by his masters. Though Clive did not distinctly acquaint his employers with what had taken place, and request their sanction, he  
 30 did not, on the other hand, by studied concealment, show that he was conscious of having done wrong. On the contrary, he avowed with the greatest openness that the Nabob's bounty had raised him to affluence. Lastly, though we think that he ought not in such a way to have taken any thing, we must admit that he deserves praise

for having taken so little. He accepted twenty lacs of rupees. It would have cost him only a word to make the twenty forty. It was a very easy exercise of virtue to declaim in England against Clive's rapacity ; but not one in a hundred of his accusers would have shown so much self-command in the treasury of Moorshedabad.

Meer Jaffier could be upheld on the throne only by the hand which had placed him on it. He was not, indeed, a mere boy ; nor had he been so unfortunate as to be born in the purple. He was not therefore quite so imbecile or quite so depraved as his predecessor had been. But he had none of the talents or virtues which his post required ; and his son and heir, Meeran, was another Surajah Dowlah. The recent revolution had unsettled the minds of men. Many chiefs were in open insurrection against the new Nabob. The viceroy of the rich and powerful province of Oude, who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, was now in truth an independent sovereign, menaced Bengal with invasion. Nothing but the talents and authority of Clive could support the tottering government. While things were in this state a ship arrived with despatches which had been written at the India House before the news of the battle of Plassey had reached London. The Directors had determined to place the English settlements in Bengal under a government constituted in the most cumbrous and absurd manner ; and, to make the matter worse, no place in the arrangement was assigned to Clive. The persons who were selected to form this new government, greatly to their honour, took on themselves the responsibility of disobeying these preposterous orders, and invited Clive to exercise the supreme authority. He consented ; and it soon appeared that the servants of the Company had only anticipated the wishes of their employers. The Directors, on receiving news of Clive's brilliant success,

instantly appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal, with the highest marks of gratitude and esteem. His power was now boundless, and far surpassed even that which Dupleix had attained in the south of India. Meer Jaffier regarded him with slavish awe. On one occasion, the Nabob spoke with severity to a native chief of high rank, whose followers had been engaged in a brawl with some of the Company's sepoys. "Are you yet to learn," he said, "who that Colonel Clive is, and in what station God has placed him?" The chief, who, as a famous jester and an old friend of Meer Jaffier, could venture to take liberties, answered, "I affront the Colonel! I, who never get up in the morning without making three low bows to his jackass!" This was hardly an exaggeration. Europeans and natives were alike at Clive's feet. The English regarded him as the only man who could force Meer Jaffier to keep his engagements with them. Meer Jaffier regarded him as the only man who could protect the new dynasty against turbulent subjects and encroaching neighbours.

It is but justice to say that Clive used his power ably and vigorously for the advantage of his country. He sent forth an expedition against the tract lying to the north of the Carnatic. In this tract the French still had the ascendancy; and it was important to dislodge them. The conduct of the enterprise was entrusted to an officer of the name of Forde, who was then little known, but in whom the keen eye of the Governor had detected military talents of a high order. The success of the expedition was rapid and splendid.

While a considerable part of the army of Bengal was thus engaged at a distance, a new and formidable danger menaced the western frontier. The Great Mogul was a prisoner at Delhi in the hands of a subject. His eldest son, named Shah Alum, destined to be, during many

years, the sport of adverse fortune, and to be a tool in the hands, first of the Mahrattas, and then of the English, had fled from the palace of his father. His birth was still revered in India. Some powerful princes, the Nabob of Oude in particular, were inclined to favour him. Shah Alum found it easy to draw to his standard great numbers of the military adventurers with whom every part of the country swarmed. An army of forty thousand men, of various races and religions, Mahrattas, Rohillas, Jauts, and Afghans, were speedily assembled round him ; and he formed the design of overthrowing the upstart whom the English had elevated to a throne, and of establishing his own authority throughout Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

Meer Jaffier's terror was extreme ; and the only expedient which occurred to him was to purchase, by the payment of a large sum of money, an accommodation with Shah Alum. This expedient had been repeatedly employed by those who, before him, had ruled the rich and unwarlike provinces near the mouth of the Ganges. But Clive treated the suggestion with a scorn worthy of his strong sense and dauntless courage. " If you do this," he wrote, " you will have the Nabob of Oude, the Mahrattas, and many more, come from all parts of the confines of your country, who will bully you out of money till you have none left in your treasury. I beg your Excellency will rely on the fidelity of the English, and of those troops which are attached to you." He wrote in a similar strain to the governor of Patna, a brave native soldier whom he highly esteemed. " Come to no terms ; defend your city to the last. Rest assured that the English are staunch and firm friends, and that they never desert a cause in which they have once taken a part."

He kept his word. Shah Alum had invested Patna, and was on the point of proceeding to storm, when he learned that the Colonel was advancing by forced

marches. The whole army which was approaching consisted of only four hundred and fifty Europeans, and two thousand five hundred sepoys. But Clive and his Englishmen were now objects of dread over all the East. As soon  
5 as his advanced guard appeared, the besiegers fled before him. A few French adventurers who were about the person of the prince advised him to try the chance of battle ; but in vain. In a few days this great army, which had been regarded with so much uneasiness by the court  
10 of Moorshedabad, melted away before the mere terror of the British name.

The conqueror returned in triumph to Fort William. The joy of Meer Jaffier was as unbounded as his fears had been, and led him to bestow on his preserver a princely  
15 token of gratitude. The quit-rent which the East India Company were bound to pay to the Nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta amounted to nearly thirty thousand pounds sterling a year. The whole of this splendid estate, sufficient to support  
20 with dignity the highest rank of the British peerage, was now conferred on Clive for life.

This present we think Clive justified in accepting. It was a present which, from its very nature, could be no secret. In fact, the Company itself was his tenant, and, by its acquiescence, signified its approbation of Meer Jaffier's grant.  
25

But the gratitude of Meer Jaffier did not last long. He had for some time felt that the powerful ally who had set him up might pull him down, and had been looking round for support against the formidable strength by  
30 which he had himself been hitherto supported. He knew that it would be impossible to find among the natives of India any force which would look the Colonel's little army in the face. The French power in Bengal was extinct. But the fame of the Dutch had anciently been great in the Eastern seas ; and it was not yet distinctly known in

Asia how much the power of Holland had declined in Europe. Secret communications passed between the court of Moorshedabad and the Dutch factory at Chinsurah ; and urgent letters were sent from Chinsurah, exhorting the government of Batavia to fit out an expedition which might balance the power of the English in Bengal. The authorities of Batavia, eager to extend the influence of their country, and still more eager to obtain for themselves a share of the wealth which had recently raised so many English adventurers to opulence, equipped a powerful armament. Seven large ships from Java arrived unexpectedly in the Hoogley. The military force on board amounted to fifteen hundred men, of whom about one half were Europeans. The enterprise was well timed. Clive had sent such large detachments to oppose the French in the Carnatic that his army was now inferior in number to that of the Dutch. He knew that Meer Jaffier secretly favoured the invaders. He knew that he took on himself a serious responsibility if he attacked the forces of a friendly power ; that the English ministers could not wish to see a war with Holland added to that in which they were already engaged with France ; that they might disavow his acts ; that they might punish him. He had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe, through the Dutch East India Company ; and he had therefore a strong interest in avoiding any quarrel. But he was satisfied that, if he suffered the Batavian armament to pass up the river and to join the garrison of Chinsurah, Meer Jaffier would throw himself into the arms of these new allies, and that the English ascendancy in Bengal would be exposed to most serious danger. He took his resolution with characteristic boldness, and was most ably seconded by his officers, particularly by Colonel Forde, to whom the most important part of the operations was entrusted. The Dutch attempted to force

a passage. The English encountered them both by land and water. On both elements the enemy had a great superiority of force. On both they were signally defeated. Their ships were taken. Their troops were put to a total  
5 rout. Almost all the European soldiers who constituted the main strength of the invading army, were killed or taken. The conquerors sat down before Chinsurah ; and the chiefs of that settlement, now thoroughly humbled, consented to the terms which Clive dictated. They  
10 engaged to build no fortifications, and to raise no troops beyond a small force necessary for the police of their factories ; and it was distinctly provided that any violation of these covenants should be punished with instant expulsion from Bengal.

15 Three months after this great victory, Clive sailed for England. At home, honours and rewards awaited him, not indeed equal to his claims or to his ambition, but still such as, when his age, his rank in the army, and his original place in society are considered, must be pro-  
20 nounced rare and splendid. He was raised to the Irish peerage, and encouraged to expect an English title. George the Third, who had just ascended the throne, received him with great distinction. The ministers paid him marked attention ; and Pitt, whose influence in the  
25 House of Commons and in the country was unbounded, was eager to mark his regard for one whose exploits had contributed so much to the lustre of that memorable period. The great orator had already in Parliament described Clive as a heaven-born general, as a man who,  
30 bred to the labour of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia. There were then no reporters in the gallery ; but these words, emphatically spoken by the first statesman of the age, had passed from mouth to mouth, had been transmitted to Clive in Bengal, and had greatly

delighted and flattered him. Indeed, since the death of Wolfe, Clive was the only general of whom his countrymen had much reason to be proud. The Duke of Cumberland had been generally unfortunate ; and his single victory, having been gained over his countrymen, and used with merciless severity, had been more fatal to his popularity than his many defeats. Conway, versed in the learning of his profession, and personally courageous, wanted vigour and capacity. Granby, honest, generous, and as brave as a lion, had neither science nor genius. Sackville, inferior in knowledge and abilities to none of his contemporaries, had incurred, unjustly as we believe, the imputation most fatal to the character of a soldier. It was under the command of a foreign general that the British had triumphed at Minden and Warburg. The people therefore, as was natural, greeted with pride and delight a captain of their own, whose native courage and self-taught skill had placed him on a level with the great tacticians of Germany.

The wealth of Clive was such as enabled him to vie with the first grandees of England. There remains proof that he had remitted more than a hundred and eighty thousand pounds through the Dutch East India Company, and more than forty thousand pounds through the English Company. The amount which he had sent home through private houses was also considerable. He had invested great sums in jewels, then a very common mode of remittance from India. His purchases of diamonds, at Madras alone, amounted to twenty-five thousand pounds. Besides a great mass of ready money he had his Indian estate, valued by himself at twenty-seven thousand a year. His whole annual income, in the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, who is desirous to state it as low as possible, exceeded forty thousand pounds ; and incomes of forty thousand pounds at the time of the



accession of George the Third were at least as rare as incomes of a hundred thousand pounds now. We may safely affirm that no Englishman who started with nothing has ever, in any line of life, created such a fortune at the early age of thirty-four.

It would be unjust not to add that Clive made a creditable use of his riches. As soon as the battle of Plassey had laid the foundation of his fortune, he sent ten thousand pounds to his sisters, bestowed as much more on other poor friends and relations, ordered his agent to pay eight hundred a year to his parents, and to insist that they should keep a carriage, and settled five hundred a year on his old commander Lawrence, whose means were very slender. The whole sum which Clive expended in this manner may be calculated at fifty thousand pounds.

He now set himself to cultivate parliamentary interest. His purchases of land seem to have been made in a great measure with that view, and, after the general election of 1761, he found himself in the House of Commons, at the head of a body of dependents whose support must have been important to any administration. In English politics, however, he did not take a prominent part. His first attachments, as we have seen, were to Mr. Fox ; at a later period he was attracted by the genius and success of Mr. Pitt ; but finally he connected himself in the closest manner with George Grenville. Early in the session of 1764, when the illegal and impolitic persecution of that worthless demagogue Wilkes had strongly excited the public mind, the town was amused by an anecdote, which we have seen in some unpublished memoirs of Horace Walpole. Old Mr. Richard Clive, who, since his son's elevation, had been introduced into society for which his former habits had not well fitted him, presented himself at the levee. The King asked him where Lord Clive was. "He will be in town very soon," said the old gentle-

man, loud enough to be heard by the whole circle, "and then your Majesty will have another vote."

But in truth all Clive's views were directed towards the country in which he had so eminently distinguished himself as a soldier and a statesman ; and it was by considerations relating to India that his conduct as a public man in England was regulated. The power of the Company, though an anomaly, is in our time, we are firmly persuaded, a beneficial anomaly. In the time of Clive, it was not merely an anomaly, but a nuisance. There was no Board of Control. The Directors were for the most part mere traders, ignorant of general politics, ignorant of the peculiarities of the empire which had strangely become subject to them. The Court of Proprietors, wherever it chose to interfere, was able to have its way. That Court was more numerous, as well as more powerful than at present ; for then every share of five hundred pounds conferred a vote. The meetings were large, stormy, even riotous, the debates indecently virulent. All the turbulence of a Westminster election, all the trickery and corruption of a Grampound election, disgraced the proceedings of this assembly on questions of the most solemn importance. Fictitious votes were manufactured on a gigantic scale. Clive himself laid out a hundred thousand pounds in the purchase of stock, which he then divided among nominal proprietors on whom he could depend, and whom he brought down in his train to every discussion and every ballot. Others did the same, though not to quite so enormous an extent.

The interest taken by the public of England in Indian questions was then far greater than at present, and the reason is obvious. At present a writer enters the service young ; he climbs slowly ; he is fortunate, if, at forty-five, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand a year, and with savings amounting to thirty

thousand pounds. A great quantity of wealth is made by English functionaries in India ; but no single functionary makes a very large fortune, and what is made is slowly, hardly, and honestly earned. Only four or five  
5 high political offices are reserved for public men from England. The residencies, the secretaryships, the seats in the boards of revenue and in the Sudder courts, are all filled by men who have given the best years of life to the service of the Company ; nor can any  
10 talents however splendid or any connections however powerful obtain those lucrative posts for any person who has not entered by the regular door, and mounted by the regular gradations. Seventy years ago, less money was brought home from the East than in our time. But  
15 it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons, and immense sums were often accumulated in a few months. Any Englishman, whatever his age might be, might hope to be one of the lucky emigrants. If he made a good speech in Leadenhall Street, or published a clever  
20 pamphlet in defence of the chairman, he might be sent out in the Company's service, and might return in three or four years as rich as Pigot or as Clive. Thus the India House was a lottery-office, which invited everybody to take a chance, and held out ducal fortunes as the prizes  
25 destined for the lucky few. As soon as it was known that there was a part of the world where a lieutenant-colonel had one morning received as a present an estate as large as that of the Earl of Bath or the Marquess of Rockingham, and where it seemed that such a trifle as ten or  
30 twenty thousand pounds was to be had by any British functionary for the asking, society began to exhibit all the symptoms of the South Sea year, a feverish excitement, an ungovernable impatience to be rich, a contempt for slow, sure, and moderate gains.

*At the head of the preponderating party in the India*

House, had long stood a powerful, able, and ambitious director of the name of Sullivan. He had conceived a strong jealousy of Clive, and remembered with bitterness the audacity with which the late governor of Bengal had repeatedly set at nought the authority of the distant Directors of the Company. An apparent reconciliation took place after Clive's arrival; but enmity remained deeply rooted in the hearts of both. The whole body of Directors was then chosen annually. At the election of 1763, Clive attempted to break down the power of the dominant faction. The contest was carried on with a violence which he describes as tremendous. Sullivan was victorious, and hastened to take his revenge. The grant of rent which Clive had received from Meer Jaffier was, in the opinion of the best English lawyers, valid. It had been made by exactly the same authority from which the Company had received their chief possessions in Bengal, and the Company had long acquiesced in it. The Directors, however, most unjustly determined to confiscate it, and Clive was forced to file a bill in Chancery against them.

But a great and sudden turn in affairs was at hand. Every ship from Bengal had for some time brought alarming tidings. The internal misgovernment of the province had reached such a point that it could go no further. What, indeed, was to be expected from a body of public servants exposed to temptation such that, as Clive once said, flesh and blood could not bear it, armed with irresistible power, and responsible only to the corrupt, turbulent, distracted, ill-informed Company, situated at such a distance that the average interval between the sending of a despatch and the receipt of an answer was above a year and a half? Accordingly, during the five years which followed the departure of Clive from Bengal, the misgovernment of the English was carried to a point

such as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society. The Roman proconsul, who, in a year or two, squeezed out of a province the means of rearing marble palaces and baths on the shores of Campania, of drinking  
5 from amber, of feasting on singing birds, of exhibiting armies of gladiators and flocks of camelopards, the Spanish viceroy, who, leaving behind him the curses of Mexico or Lima, entered Madrid, with a long train of gilded coaches, and of sumpter-horses trapped and shod  
10 with silver, were now outdone. Cruelty, indeed, properly so called, was not among the vices of the servants of the Company. But cruelty itself could hardly have produced greater evils than sprang from their unprincipled eagerness to be rich. They pulled down their creature, Meer Jaffier.  
15 They set up in his place another Nabob, named Meer Cossim. But Meer Cossim had parts and a will; and, though sufficiently inclined to oppress his subjects himself, he could not bear to see them ground to the dust by oppressions which yielded him no profit, nay, which destroyed  
20 his revenue in the very source. The English accordingly pulled down Meer Cossim, and set up Meer Jaffier again; and Meer Cossim, after revenging himself by a massacre surpassing in atrocity that of the Black Hole, fled to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude. At every  
25 one of these revolutions, the new prince divided among his foreign masters whatever could be scraped together in the treasury of his fallen predecessor. The immense population of his dominions was given up as a prey to those who had made him a sovereign, and who could  
30 unmake him. The servants of the Company obtained, not for their employers, but for themselves, a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and to sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection

a set of native dependents who ranged through the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master; and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surajah Dowlah. Under their old masters they had at least one resource: when the evil became insupportable, the people rose and pulled down the government. But the English government was not to be so shaken off. That government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilisation. It resembled the government of evil Genii, rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed, the hereditary nobility of mankind, whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta; and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate.

The foreign lords of Bengal were naturally objects of hatred to all the neighbouring powers; and to all the haughty race presented a dauntless front. The English armies, every where outnumbered, were every where victorious. A succession of commanders, formed in the school of Clive, still maintained the fame of their country. "It must be acknowledged," says the Mussulman historian

of those times, "that this nation's presence of mind, firmness of temper, and undaunted bravery, are past all question. They join the most resolute courage to the most cautious prudence ; nor have they their equals in  
 5 the art of ranging themselves in battle array and fighting in order. If to so many military qualifications they knew how to join the arts of government, if they exerted as much ingenuity and solicitude in relieving the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs,  
 10 no nation in the world would be preferable to them, or worthier of command. But the people under their dominion groan every where, and are reduced to poverty and distress. Oh God ! come to the assistance of thine afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions  
 15 which they suffer."

It was impossible, however, that even the military establishment should long continue exempt from the vices which pervaded every other part of the government. Rapacity, luxury, and the spirit of insubordination spread  
 20 from the civil service to the officers of the army, and from the officers to the soldiers. The evil continued to grow till every mess-room became the seat of conspiracy and cabal, and till the sepoys could be kept in order only by wholesale executions.

At length the state of things in Bengal began to excite uneasiness at home. A succession of revolutions ; a disorganised administration ; the natives pillaged, yet the Company not enriched ; every fleet bringing back fortunate adventurers who were able to purchase manors  
 25 and to build stately dwellings, yet bringing back also alarming accounts of the financial prospects of the government ; war on the frontiers ; disaffection in the army ; the national character disgraced by excesses resembling those of Verres and Pizarro ; such was the *spectacle* which dismayed those who were conversant

with Indian affairs. The general cry was that Clive, and Clive alone, could save the empire which he had founded.

This feeling manifested itself in the strongest manner at a very full General Court of Proprietors. Men of all parties, forgetting their feuds and trembling for their dividends, exclaimed that Clive was the man whom the crisis required, that the oppressive proceedings which had been adopted respecting his estate ought to be dropped, and that he ought to be entreated to return to India.

Clive rose. As to his estate, he said, he would make such propositions to the Directors as would, he trusted, lead to an amicable settlement. But there was a still greater difficulty. It was proper to tell them that he never would undertake the government of Bengal while his enemy Sullivan was chairman of the Company. The tumult was violent. Sullivan could scarcely obtain a hearing. An overwhelming majority of the assembly was on Clive's side. Sullivan wished to try the result of a ballot. But, according to the by-laws of the Company, there can be no ballot except on a requisition signed by nine proprietors; and, though hundreds were present, nine persons could not be found to set their hands to such a requisition.

Clive was in consequence nominated Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British possessions in Bengal. But he adhered to his declaration, and refused to enter on his office till the event of the next election of Directors should be known. The contest was obstinate; but Clive triumphed. Sullivan, lately absolute master of the India House, was within a vote of losing his own seat; and both the chairman and the deputy-chairman were friends of the new governor.

Such were the circumstances under which Lord Clive



sailed for the third and last time to India. In May, 1765, he reached Calcutta ; and he found the whole machine of government even more fearfully disorganised than he had anticipated. Meer Jaffier, who had some time before lost his eldest son Meeran, had died while Clive was on his voyage out. The English functionaries at Calcutta had already received from home strict orders not to accept presents from the native princes. But, eager for gain, and unaccustomed to respect the commands of their distant, ignorant, and negligent masters, they again set up the throne of Bengal to sale. About one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling were distributed among nine of the most powerful servants of the Company ; and, in consideration of this bribe, an infant son of the deceased Nabob was placed on the seat of his father. The news of the ignominious bargain met Clive on his arrival. In a private letter written immediately after his landing to an intimate friend, he poured out his feelings in language which, proceeding from a man so daring, so resolute, and so little given to theatrical display of sentiment, seems to us singularly touching. " Alas ! " he says, " how is the English name sunk ! I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation—irre- coverably so, I fear. However, I do declare, by that great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable if there be a hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy these great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt."

✓The Council met, and Clive stated to them his full determination to make a thorough reform, and to use for that purpose the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been confided to him. Johnstone, one of the boldest and worst men in the assembly, made

some show of opposition. Clive interrupted him, and haughtily demanded whether he meant to question the power of the new government. Johnstone was cowed, and disclaimed any such intention. All the faces round the board grew long and pale ; and not another syllable of dissent was uttered.

Clive redeemed his pledge. He remained in India about a year and a half ; and in that short time effected one of the most extensive, difficult, and salutary reforms that ever was accomplished by any statesman. This was the part of his life on which he afterwards looked back with most pride. He had it in his power to triple his already splendid fortune ; to connive at abuses while pretending to remove them ; to conciliate the good-will of all the English in Bengal, by giving up to their rapacity a helpless and timid race, who knew not where lay the island which sent forth their oppressors, and whose complaints had little chance of being heard across fifteen thousand miles of ocean. He knew that, if he applied himself in earnest to the work of reformation, he should raise every bad passion in arms against him. He knew how unscrupulous, how implacable, would be the hatred of those ravenous adventurers who, having counted on accumulating in a few months fortunes sufficient to support peerages, should find all their hopes frustrated. But he had chosen the good part ; and he called up all the force of his mind for a battle far harder than that of Plassey. At first success seemed hopeless ; but soon all obstacles began to bend before that iron courage and that vehement will. The receiving of presents from the natives was rigidly prohibited. The private trade of the servants of the Company was put down. The whole settlement seemed to be set, as one man, against these measures. But the inexorable governor declared that, if he could not find support at Fort William, he would

procure it elsewhere, and sent for some civil servants from Madras to assist him in carrying on the administration. The most factious of his opponents he turned out of their offices. The rest submitted to what was inevitable; and in a very short time all resistance was quelled.

But Clive was far too wise a man not to see that the recent abuses were partly to be ascribed to a cause which could not fail to produce similar abuses, as soon as the pressure of his strong hand was withdrawn. The Company had followed a mistaken policy with respect to the remuneration of its servants. The salaries were too low to afford even those indulgences which are necessary to the health and comfort of Europeans in a tropical climate. To lay by a rupee from such scanty pay was impossible. It could not be supposed that men of even average abilities would consent to pass the best years of life in exile, under a burning sun, for no other consideration than these stinted wages. It had accordingly been understood, from a very early period, that the Company's agents were at liberty to enrich themselves by their private trade. This practice had been seriously injurious to the commercial interests of the corporation. That very intelligent observer, Sir Thomas Roe, in the reign of James the First, strongly urged the Directors to apply a remedy to the abuse. "Absolutely prohibit the private trade," said he; "for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they come not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from."

In spite of this excellent advice, the Company adhered to the old system, paid low salaries, and connived at the indirect gains of the agents. The pay of a member of Council was only three hundred pounds a year. Yet it

was notorious that such a functionary could not live in India for less than ten times that sum ; and it could not be expected that he would be content to live even handsomely in India without laying up something against the time of his return to England. This system, before the conquest of Bengal, might affect the amount of the dividends payable to the proprietors, but could do little harm in any other way. But the Company was now a ruling body. Its servants might still be called factors, junior merchants, senior merchants. But they were in truth pro- 10 consuls, proprætors, procurators of extensive regions. They had immense power. Their regular pay was universally admitted to be insufficient. They were, by the ancient usage of the service, and by the implied permission of their employers, warranted in enriching themselves by 15 indirect means ; and this had been the origin of the frightful oppression and corruption which had desolated Bengal. Clive saw clearly that it was absurd to give men power, and to require them to live in penury. He justly concluded that no reform could be effectual which should 20 not be coupled with a plan for liberally remunerating the civil servants of the Company. The Directors, he knew, were not disposed to sanction any increase of the salaries out of their own treasury. The only course which remained open to the governor was one which exposed him 25 to much misrepresentation, but which we think him fully justified in adopting. He appropriated to the support of the service the monopoly of salt, which has formed, down to our own time, a principal head of Indian revenue ; and he divided the proceeds according to a scale which 30 seems to have been not unreasonably fixed. He was in consequence accused by his enemies, and has been accused by historians, of disobeying his instructions, of violating his promises, of authorising that very abuse which it was his special mission to destroy, namely, the trade of

the Company's servants. But every discerning and impartial judge will admit, that there was really nothing in common between the system which he set up and that which he was sent to destroy. The monopoly of salt had  
5 been a source of revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born. It continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue ; and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with  
10 their maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly, but surely, acquiring a competence. Yet, such is the injustice of mankind that  
15 none of those acts which are the real stains of his life has drawn on him so much obloquy as this measure, which was in truth a reform necessary to the success of all his other reforms.

He had quelled the opposition of the civil service :  
20 that of the army was more formidable. Some of the retrenchments which had been ordered by the Directors affected the interests of the military service ; and a storm arose, such as even Cæsar would not willingly have faced. It was no light thing to encounter the resistance  
25 of those who held the power of the sword, in a country governed only by the sword. Two hundred English officers engaged in a conspiracy against the government, and determined to resign their commissions on the same day, not doubting that Clive would grant any terms  
30 rather than see the army, on which alone the British empire in the East rested, left without commanders. They little knew the unconquerable spirit with which they had to deal. Clive had still a few officers round his person on whom he could rely. He sent to Fort St. George for a fresh supply. He gave commissions even

to mercantile agents who were disposed to support him at this crisis ; and he sent orders that every officer who resigned should be instantly brought up to Calcutta. The conspirators found that they had miscalculated. The governor was inexorable. The troops were steady. 5 The sepoy, over whom Clive had always possessed extraordinary influence, stood by him with unshaken fidelity. The leaders in the plot were arrested, tried, and cashiered. The rest, humbled and dispirited, begged to be permitted to withdraw their resignations. Many of 10 them declared their repentance even with tears. The younger offenders Clive treated with lenity. To the ring-leaders he was inflexibly severe ; but his severity was pure from all taint of private malevolence. While he sternly upheld the just authority of his office, he passed 15 by personal insults and injuries with magnanimous disdain. One of the conspirators was accused of having planned the assassination of the governor ; but Clive would not listen to the charge. " The officers," he said, " are Englishmen, not assassins."

20 While he reformed the civil service and established his authority over the army, he was equally successful in his foreign policy. His landing on Indian ground was the signal for immediate peace. The Nabob of Oude, with a large army, lay at that time on the frontier of 25 Bahar. He had been joined by many Afghans and Mahrattas, and there was no small reason to expect a general coalition of all the native powers against the English. But the name of Clive quelled in an instant all opposition. The enemy implored peace in the humblest 30 language, and submitted to such terms as the new governor chose to dictate.

At the same time, the government of Bengal was placed on a new footing. The power of the English in that province had hitherto been altogether undefined. It

was unknown to the ancient constitution of the empire, and it had been ascertained by no compact. It resembled the power which, in the last decrepitude of the Western Empire, was exercised over Italy by the great chiefs of foreign mercenaries, the Ricimers and the Odoacers, who put up and pulled down at their pleasure a succession of insignificant princes, dignified with the names of Cæsar and Augustus. But as in Italy, so in India, the warlike strangers at length found it expedient to give to a domination which had been established by arms the sanction of law and ancient prescription. Theodoric thought it politic to obtain from the distant court of Byzantium a commission appointing him ruler of Italy; and Clive, in the same manner, applied to the Court of Delhi for a formal grant of the powers of which he already possessed the reality. The Mogul was absolutely helpless, and, though he murmured, had reason to be well pleased that the English were disposed to give solid rupees which he never could have extorted from them, in exchange for a few Persian characters which cost him nothing. A bargain was speedily struck; and the titular sovereign of Hindostan issued a warrant, empowering the Company to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

✓<sup>25</sup> There was still a Nabob, who stood to the British authorities in the same relation in which the last drivelling Chilperics and Childerics of the Merovingian line stood to their able and vigorous Mayors of the Palace, to Charles Martel and to Pepin. At one time Clive had almost made up his mind to discard this phantom altogether; but he afterwards thought that it might be convenient still to use the name of Nabob, particularly in dealings with other European nations. The French, the Dutch, and the Danes, would, he conceived, submit far more readily to the authority of the native Prince, whom

they had always been accustomed to respect, than to that of a rival trading corporation. This policy may, at that time, have been judicious. But the pretence was soon found to be too flimsy to impose on any body ; and it was altogether laid aside. The heir of Meer Jaffier still <sup>5</sup> resides at Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of his house, still bears the title of Nabob, is still accosted by the English as "Your Highness," and is still suffered to retain a portion of the regal state which surrounded his ancestors. A pension of a hundred and sixty thousand <sup>10</sup> pounds a year is annually paid to him by the government. His carriage is surrounded by guards, and preceded by attendants with silver maces. His person and his dwelling are exempted from the ordinary authority of the ministers of justice. But he has not the smallest share <sup>15</sup> of political power, and is, in fact, only a noble and wealthy subject of the Company.

It would have been easy for Clive, during his second administration in Bengal, to accumulate riches such as no subject in Europe possessed. He might indeed, without subjecting the rich inhabitants of the province to any pressure beyond that to which their mildest rulers had accustomed them, have received presents to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds a year. The neighbouring princes would gladly have paid any price for his favour. <sup>25</sup> But he appears to have strictly adhered to the rules which he had laid down for the guidance of others. The Rajah of Benares offered him diamonds of great value. The Nabob of Oude pressed him to accept a large sum of money and a casket of costly jewels. Clive courteously, but peremptorily refused : and it should be observed that he made no merit of his refusal, and that the facts did not come to light till after his death. He kept an exact account of his salary, of his share of the profits accruing from the trade in salt, and of those pre- <sup>30</sup>



sents which, according to the fashion of the East, it would be churlish to refuse. Out of the sum arising from these resources, he defrayed the expenses of his situation. The surplus he divided among a few attached friends who had accompanied him to India. He always boasted, and, as far as we can judge, he boasted with truth, that his last administration diminished instead of increasing his fortune.

One large sum indeed he accepted. Meer Jaffier had left him by will above sixty thousand pounds sterling in specie and jewels ; and the rules which had been recently laid down extended only to presents from the living, and did not affect legacies from the dead. Clive took the money, but not for himself. He made the whole over to the Company, in trust for officers and soldiers invalided in their service. The fund which still bears his name owes its origin to this princely donation.

After a stay of eighteen months, the state of his health made it necessary for him to return to Europe. At the close of January, 1767, he quitted for the last time the country on whose destinies he had exercised so mighty an influence.

His second return from Bengal was not, like his first, greeted by the acclamations of his countrymen. Numerous causes were already at work which embittered the remaining years of his life, and hurried him to an untimely grave. His old enemies at the India House were still powerful and active ; and they had been reinforced by a large band of allies whose violence far exceeded their own. The whole crew of pilferers and oppressors from whom he had rescued Bengal persecuted him with the implacable rancour which belongs to such abject natures. Many of them even invested their property in India stock, merely that they might be better able to annoy the man whose firmness had set bounds to their

rapacity. Lying newspapers were set up for no purpose but to abuse him ; and the temper of the public mind was then such, that these arts, which under ordinary circumstances would have been ineffectual against truth and merit, produced an extraordinary impression.

The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent ; they had generally been sent at an early age to the East ; and they had there acquired large fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should exhibit some of the awkwardness and some of the pomposity of upstarts. It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting, to persons who never had quitted Europe. It was natural that, having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home ; and as they had money, and had not birth or high connexion, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the single advantage which they possessed. Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry, similar to that which raged in France between the farmer-general and the marquess. This enmity, to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the Company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Burke pronounced that among the Jacobins might be reckoned "the East Indians almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth."

The Nabobs soon became a most unpopular class of

men. Some of them had in the East displayed eminent talents, and rendered great services to the state ; but at home their talents were not shown to advantage, and their services were little known. That they had sprung  
5 from obscurity, that they had acquired great wealth, that they exhibited it insolently, that they spent it extravagantly, that they raised the price of everything in their neighbourhood, from fresh eggs to rotten boroughs, that their liveries outshone those of dukes, that their coaches  
10 were finer than that of the Lord Mayor, that the examples of their large and ill-governed households corrupted half the servants in the country, that some of them, with all their magnificence, could not catch the tone of good society, but, in spite of the stud and the  
15 crowd of menials, of the plate and the Dresden china, of the venison and the Burgundy, were still low men ; these were things which excited, both in the class from which they had sprung and in the class into which they attempted to force themselves, the bitter aversion which is  
20 the effect of mingled envy and contempt. But when it was also rumoured that the fortune which had enabled its possessor to eclipse the Lord Lieutenant on the race-ground, or to carry the county against the head of a house as old as Domesday Book, had been accumulated  
25 by violating public faith, by deposing legitimate princes, by reducing whole provinces to beggary, all the higher and better as well as all the low and evil parts of human nature were stirred against the wretch who had obtained by guilt and dishonour the riches which he now lavished  
30 with arrogant and inelegant profusion. The unfortunate Nabob seemed to be made up of those foibles against which comedy has pointed the most merciless ridicule, and of those crimes which have thrown the deepest gloom over tragedy, of Turcaret and Nero, of Monsieur Jourdain and Richard the Third. A tempest of execra-

*Lord Clive.*

tion and derision, such as can be compared only to the outbreak of public feeling against the Puritans which took place at the time of the Restoration, burst on the servants of the Company. The humane man was horror-struck at the way in which they had got their money, the thrifty man at the way in which they spent it. The Dilettante sneered at their want of taste. The Maccaroni black-balled them as vulgar fellows. Writers the most unlike in sentiment and style, Methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons, were for once on the same side. 10 It is hardly too much to say that, during a space of about thirty years, the whole lighter literature of England was coloured by the feelings which we have described. Foote brought on the stage an Anglo-Indian chief, dissolute, ungenerous, and tyrannical, ashamed of the humble 15 friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered among them, squandering his wealth on pandars and flatterers, tricking out his chairmen with the most costly hot-house flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and 20 jaghires. Mackenzie, with more delicate humour, depicted a plain country family raised by the Indian acquisitions of one of its members to sudden opulence, and exciting derision by an awkward mimicry of the manners of the great. Cowper, in that lofty expostulation which glows 25 with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India foremost in the list of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with the loss of her transatlantic empire. If any of our readers will 30 take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or sub-villain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nabob, with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart.

Such, as far as we can now judge, was the feeling of the country respecting Nabobs in general. And Clive was eminently the Nabob, the ablest, the most celebrated, the highest in rank, the highest in fortune, of all the  
5 fraternity. His wealth was exhibited in a manner which could not fail to excite odium. He lived with great magnificence in Berkeley Square. He reared one palace in Shropshire and another at Claremont. His parliamentary influence might vie with that of the greatest  
10 families. But in all this splendour and power envy found something to sneer at. On some of his relations wealth and dignity seem to have sat as awkwardly as on Mackenzie's Margery Mushroom. Nor was he himself,  
15 which the satirists of that age represented as characteristic of his whole class. In the field, indeed, his habits were remarkably simple. He was constantly on horseback, was never seen but in his uniform, never wore silk, never entered a palanquin, and was content with the  
20 plainest fare. But when he was no longer at the head of an army, he laid aside this Spartan temperance for the ostentatious luxury of a Sybarite. Though his person was ungraceful, and though his harsh features were redeemed from vulgar ugliness only by their stern,  
25 dauntless, and commanding expression, he was fond of rich and gay clothing, and replenished his wardrobe with absurd profusion. Sir John Malcolm gives us a letter worthy of Sir Matthew Mite, in which Clive orders "two hundred shirts, the best and finest that can be got for  
30 love or money." A few follies of this description, grossly exaggerated by report, produced an unfavourable impression on the public mind. But this was not the worst. Black stories, of which the greater part were pure inventions, were circulated touching his conduct in the East.  
35 *He had to bear the whole odium, not only of those bad*

acts to which he had once or twice stooped, but of all the bad acts of all the English in India, of bad acts committed when he was absent, nay, of bad acts which he had manfully opposed and severely punished. The very abuses against which he had waged an honest, resolute, and successful war, were laid to his account. He was, in fact, regarded as the personification of all the vices and weaknesses which the public, with or without reason, ascribed to the English adventurers in Asia. We have ourselves heard old men, who knew nothing of his history, but who still retained the prejudices conceived in their youth, talk of him as an incarnate fiend. Johnson always held this language. Brown, whom Clive employed to lay out his pleasure grounds, was amazed to see in the house of his noble employer a chest which had once been filled with gold from the treasury of Moorshedabad, and could not understand how the conscience of the criminal could suffer him to sleep with such an object so near to his bedchamber. The peasantry of Surrey looked with mysterious horror on the stately house which was rising at Claremont, and whispered that the great wicked lord had ordered the walls to be made so thick in order to keep out the devil, who would one day carry him away bodily. Among the gaping clowns who drank in this frightful story was a worthless ugly lad of the name of Hunt, since widely known as William Huntingdon, S. S. ; and the superstition, which was strangely mingled with the knavery of that remarkable impostor seems to have derived no small nutriment from the tales which he heard of the life and character of Clive.

In the meantime, the impulse which Clive had given to the administration of Bengal, was constantly becoming fainter and fainter. His policy was to a great extent abandoned ; the abuses which he had suppressed began

to revive ; and at length the evils which a bad government had engendered were aggravated by one of those fearful visitations which the best government cannot avert. In the summer of 1770, the rains failed ; the  
5 earth was parched up ; the tanks were empty ; the rivers shrank within their beds ; and a famine, such as is known only in countries where every household depends for support on its own little patch of cultivation, filled the whole valley of the Ganges with misery and death.  
10 Tender and delicate women, whose veils had never been lifted before the public gaze, came forth from the inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy had kept watch over their beauty, threw themselves on the earth before the passers-by, and, with loud wailings, implored a handful  
15 of rice for their children. The Hoogley every day rolled down thousands of corpses, close to the porticoes and gardens of the English conquerors. The very streets of Calcutta were blocked up by the dying and the dead. The lean and feeble survivors had not energy enough to bear  
20 the bodies of their kindred to the funeral pile, or to the holy river, or even to scare away the jackals and vultures, who fed on human remains in the face of day. The extent of the mortality was never ascertained ; but it was popularly reckoned by millions. This melancholy  
25 intelligence added to the excitement which already prevailed in England on Indian subjects. The proprietors of East India stock were uneasy about their dividends. All men of common humanity were touched by the calamities of our unhappy subjects ; and indigna-  
30 tion soon began to mingle itself with pity. It was rumoured that the Company's servants had created the famine by engrossing all the rice of the country ; that they had sold grain for eight, ten, twelve times the price at which they had bought it ; that one English functionary who, the year before, was not worth a hundred

guineas, had, during that season of misery, remitted sixty thousand pounds to London. These charges we believe to have been unfounded. That servants of the Company had ventured, since Clive's departure, to deal in rice, is probable. That, if they dealt in rice, they must have gained by the scarcity, is certain. But there is no reason for thinking that they either produced or aggravated an evil which physical causes sufficiently explain. The outcry which was raised against them on this occasion was, we suspect, as absurd as the imputations which, in times of dearth at home, were once thrown by statesmen and judges, and are still thrown by two or three old women, on the corn factors. It was, however, so loud and so general that it appears to have imposed even on an intellect raised so high above vulgar prejudices as that of Adam Smith. What was still more extraordinary, these unhappy events greatly increased the unpopularity of Lord Clive. He had been some years in England when the famine took place. None of his acts had the smallest tendency to produce such a calamity. If the servants of the Company had traded in rice, they had done so in direct contravention of the rule which he had laid down, and, while in power, had resolutely enforced. But, in the eyes of his countrymen, he was, as we have said, the Nabob, the Anglo-Indian character personified; and, while he was building and planting in Surrey, he was held responsible for all the effects of a dry season in Bengal.

Parliament had hitherto bestowed very little attention on our Eastern possessions. Since the death of George the Second, a rapid succession of weak administrations, each of which was in turn flattered and betrayed by the Court, had held the semblance of power. Intrigues in the palace, riots in the capital, and insurrectionary movements in the American colonies, had left the advisers of



the Crown little leisure to study Indian politics. When they did interfere, their interference was feeble and irresolute. Lord Chatham, indeed, during the short period of his ascendancy in the councils of George the Third, had meditated a bold attack on the Company. But his plans were rendered abortive by the strange malady which about that time began to overcloud his splendid genius.

At length, in 1772, it was generally felt that Parliament could no longer neglect the affairs of India. The Government was stronger than any which had held power since the breach between Mr. Pitt and the great Whig connexion in 1761. No pressing question of domestic or European policy required the attention of public men. There was a short and delusive lull between two tempests. The excitement produced by the Middlesex election was over; the discontents of America did not yet threaten civil war; the financial difficulties of the Company brought on a crisis; the Ministers were forced to take up the subject; and the whole storm, which had long been gathering, now broke at once on the head of Clive.

His situation was indeed singularly unfortunate. He was hated throughout the country, hated at the India House, hated, above all, by those wealthy and powerful servants of the Company, whose rapacity and tyranny he had withstood. He had to bear the double odium of his bad and of his good actions, of every Indian abuse and of every Indian reform. The state of the political world was such that he could count on the support of no powerful connexion. The party to which he had belonged, that of George Grenville, had been hostile to the Government, and yet had never cordially united with the other sections of the Opposition, with the little band which still followed the fortunes of Lord Chatham, or

with the large and respectable body of which Lord Rockingham was the acknowledged leader. George Grenville was now dead : his followers were scattered ; and Clive, unconnected with any of the powerful factions which divided the Parliament, could reckon only on the votes of those members who were returned by himself. His enemies, particularly those who were the enemies of his virtues, were unscrupulous, ferocious, implacable. Their malevolence aimed at nothing less than the utter ruin of his fame and fortune. They wished to see him expelled from Parliament, to see his spurs chopped off, to see his estate confiscated ; and it may be doubted whether even such a result as this would have quenched their thirst for revenge.

Clive's parliamentary tactics resembled his military tactics. Deserted, surrounded, outnumbered, and with everything at stake, he did not even deign to stand on the defensive, but pushed boldly forward to the attack. At an early stage of the discussions on Indian affairs he rose, and in a long and elaborate speech vindicated himself from a large part of the accusations which had been brought against him. He is said to have produced a great impression on his audience. Lord Chatham, who, now the ghost of his former self, loved to haunt the scene of his glory, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and declared that he had never heard a finer speech. It was subsequently printed under Clive's direction, and, when the fullest allowance has been made for the assistance which he may have obtained from literary friends, proves him to have possessed, not merely strong sense and a manly spirit, but talents both for disquisition and declamation which assiduous culture might have improved into the highest excellence. He confined his defence on this occasion to the measures of his last administration, and succeeded so far that his enemies

thenceforth thought it expedient to direct their attacks chiefly against the earlier part of his life.

The earlier part of his life unfortunately presented some assailable points to their hostility. A committee  
5 was chosen by ballot to inquire into the affairs of India ; and by this committee the whole history of that great revolution which threw down Surajah Dowlah and raised Meer Jaffier was sifted with malignant care. Clive was subjected to the most unsparing examination and cross-  
10 examination, and afterwards bitterly complained that he, the Baron of Plassey, had been treated like a sheep-stealer. The boldness and ingenuousness of his replies would alone suffice to show how alien from his nature were the frauds to which, in the course of his eastern  
15 negotiations, he had sometimes descended. He avowed the arts which he had employed to deceive Omichund, and resolutely said that he was not ashamed of them, and that, in the same circumstances, he would again act in the same manner. He admitted that he had received  
20 immense sums from Meer Jaffier ; but he denied that, in doing so, he had violated any obligation of morality or honour. He laid claim, on the contrary, and not without some reason, to the praise of eminent disinterestedness. He described in vivid language the situation in which his  
25 victory had placed him : great princes dependent on his pleasure ; an opulent city afraid of being given up to plunder ; wealthy bankers bidding against each other for his smiles ; vaults piled with gold and jewels thrown open to him alone. " By God, Mr. Chairman," he exclaimed, " at this moment I stand astonished at my own  
30 moderation."

The inquiry was so extensive that the Houses rose before it had been completed. It was continued in the following session. When at length the committee had concluded its labours, enlightened and impartial men had

little difficulty in making up their minds as to the result. It was clear that Clive had been guilty of some acts which it is impossible to vindicate without attacking the authority of all the most sacred laws which regulate the intercourse of individuals and of states. But it was equally clear that he had displayed great talents, and even great virtues; that he had rendered eminent services both to his country and to the people of India; and that it was in truth not for his dealings with Meer Jaffier, nor for the fraud which he had practised on Omichund, but for his determined resistance to avarice and tyranny, that he was now called in question.

Ordinary criminal justice knows nothing of set-off. The greatest desert cannot be pleaded in answer to a charge of the slightest transgression. If a man has sold beer on a Sunday morning, it is no defence that he has saved the life of a fellow-creature at the risk of his own. If he has harnessed a Newfoundland dog to his little child's carriage, it is no defence that he was wounded at Waterloo. But it is not in this way that we ought to deal with men who, raised far above ordinary restraints, and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to a more than ordinary measure of indulgence. Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed; and, if on the whole the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one, not merely of acquittal, but of approbation. Not a single great ruler in history can be absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts. Bruce the deliverer of Scotland, Maurice the deliverer of Germany, William the deliverer of Holland, his great descendant the deliverer of England, Murray the good regent, Cosmo the father of his country, Henry the



the most conspicuous champion of Warren Hastings, while Wedderburne was among the most unrelenting persecutors of that great though not faultless statesman. Clive spoke in his own defence at less length and with less art than in the preceding year, but with much energy and pathos. He recounted his great actions and his wrongs; and, after bidding his hearers remember that they were about to decide not only on his honour but on their own, he retired from the House.

The Commons resolved that acquisitions made by the arms of the State belong to the State alone, and that it is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate such acquisitions to themselves. They resolved that this wholesome rule appeared to have been systematically violated by the English functionaries in Bengal. On a subsequent day they went a step farther, and resolved that Clive had, by means of the power which he possessed as commander of the British forces in India, obtained large sums from Meer Jaffier. Here the Commons stopped. They had voted the major and minor of Burgoyne's syllogism; but they shrank from drawing the logical conclusion. When it was moved that Lord Clive had abused his powers, and set an evil example to the servants of the public, the previous question was put and carried. At length, long after the sun had risen on an animated debate, Wedderburne moved that Lord Clive had at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country; and this motion passed without a division.

The result of this memorable inquiry appears to us, on the whole, honourable to the justice, moderation, and discernment of the Commons. They had indeed no great temptation to do wrong. They would have been very bad judges of an accusation brought against Jenkinson or against Wilkes. But the question respecting Clive was not a party question; and the House accordingly

acted with the good sense and good feeling which may always be expected from an assembly of English gentlemen, not blinded by faction.

The equitable and temperate proceedings of the British  
5 Parliament were set off to the greatest advantage by a foil. The wretched government of Louis the Fifteenth had murdered, directly or indirectly, almost every Frenchman who had served his country with distinction in the East. Labourdonnais was flung into the Bastile, and,  
10 after years of suffering, left it only to die. Dupleix, stripped of his immense fortune, and broken-hearted by humiliating attendance in antechambers, sank into an obscure grave. Lally was dragged to the common place of execution with a gag between his lips. The Commons of  
15 England, on the other hand, treated their living captain with that discriminating justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. They laid down sound general principles; they delicately pointed out where he had deviated from those principles; and they tempered the  
20 gentle censure with liberal eulogy. The contrast struck Voltaire, always partial to England, and always eager to expose the abuses of the Parliaments of France. Indeed he seems, at this time, to have meditated a history of the conquest of Bengal. He mentioned his design to Dr.  
25 Moore, when that amusing writer visited him at Ferney. Wedderburne took great interest in the matter, and pressed Clive to furnish materials. Had the plan been carried into execution, we have no doubt that Voltaire would have produced a book containing much lively and  
30 picturesque narrative, many just and humane sentiments poignantly expressed, many grotesque blunders, many sneers at the Mosaic chronology, much scandal about the Catholic missionaries, and much sublime philanthropy, stolen from the New Testament, and put into the mouths of virtuous and philosophical Brahmins.

Clive was now secure in the enjoyment of his fortune and his honours. He was surrounded by attached friends and relations ; and he had not yet passed the season of vigorous bodily and mental exertion. But clouds had long been gathering over his mind, and now settled on it in thick darkness. From early youth he had been subject to fits of that strange melancholy " which rejoiceth exceedingly and is glad when it can find the grave." While still a writer at Madras, he had twice attempted to destroy himself. Business and prosperity had produced a salutary effect on his spirits. In India, while he was occupied by great affairs, in England, while wealth and rank had still the charm of novelty, he had borne up against his constitutional misery. But he had now nothing to do, and nothing to wish for. His active spirit in an inactive situation drooped and withered like a plant in an uncongenial air. The malignity with which his enemies had pursued him, the indignity with which he had been treated by the committee, the censure, lenient as it was, which the House of Commons had pronounced, the knowledge that he was regarded by a large portion of his countrymen as a cruel and perfidious tyrant, all concurred to irritate and depress him. In the meantime, his temper was tried by acute physical suffering. During his long residence in tropical climates, he had contracted several painful distempers. In order to obtain ease he called in the help of opium ; and he was gradually enslaved by this treacherous ally. To the last, however, his genius occasionally flashed through the gloom. It was said that he would sometimes, after sitting silent and torpid for hours, rouse himself to the discussion of some great question, would display in full vigour all the talents of the soldier and the statesman, and would then sink back into his melancholy repose.

The disputes with America had now become so serious



that an appeal to the sword seemed inevitable ; and the Ministers were desirous to avail themselves of the services of Clive. Had he still been what he was when he raised the siege of Patna, and annihilated the Dutch army and  
 5 navy at the mouth of the Ganges, it is not improbable that the resistance of the Colonists would have been put down, and that the inevitable separation would have been deferred for a few years. But it was too late. His strong mind was fast sinking under many kinds of suffering.  
 10 ing. On the twenty-second of November, 1774, he died by his own hand. He had just completed his forty-ninth year.

In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory, the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices ;  
 15 and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contemplate the spectacle of a  
 20 great mind ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases, and more-fatal remedies.

Clive committed great faults ; and we have not attempted to disguise them. But his faults, when weighed  
 25 against his merits, and viewed in connexion with his temptations, do not appear to us to deprive him of his right to an honourable place in the estimation of posterity. ¶ From his first visit to India dates the renown of the English arms in the East. Till he appeared, his country-  
 30 men were despised as mere pedlars, while the French were revered as a people formed for victory and command. His courage and capacity dissolved the charm. With the defence of Arcot commences that long series of Oriental triumphs which closes with the fall of Ghizni. Nor must we forget that he was only twenty-five years old

when he approved himself ripe for military command. This is a rare if not a singular distinction. It is true that Alexander, Condé, and Charles the Twelfth won great battles at a still earlier age ; but those princes were surrounded by veteran generals of distinguished skill, to whose suggestions must be attributed the victories of the Granicus, of Rocroi, and of Narva. Clive, an inexperienced youth, had yet more experience than any of those who served under him. He had to form himself, to form his officers, and to form his army. The only man, as far as we recollect, who at an equally early age ever gave equal proof of talents for war, was Napoleon Bonaparte.

From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendancy of the English in that country. His dexterity and resolution realised, in the course of a few months, more than all the gorgeous visions which had floated before the imagination of Dupleix. Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the Sacred Way, and through the crowded Forum, to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove. The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one half of a Roman legion.

From Clive's third visit to India dates the purity of the administration of our Eastern empire. When he landed in Calcutta in 1765, Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion, and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame, and his splen-

did fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired. If the reproach of the Company and of its servants has  
5 been taken away, if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere the heaviest of all yokes, has been found lighter than that of any native dynasty, if to that gang of public robbers which formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal has succeeded a body of functionaries  
10 not more highly distinguished by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness, and public spirit, if we now see such men as Munro, Elphinstone, and Metcalf, after leading victorious armies, after making and deposing kings, return, proud of their honourable  
15 poverty, from a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of boundless wealth, the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the  
20 happiness of mankind. To the warrior, history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.

## NOTES.

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P. 1, l. 5. **Every schoolboy knows.** "Lord Macaulay's schoolboy" has become a familiar expression for a boy-prodigy; yet Macaulay certainly does not credit him with a wider reading or more general information than he himself possessed at an early age. "From the time that he was three years old he read incessantly, for the most part lying on the rug before the fire, with his book on the ground and a piece of bread and butter in his hand. A very clever woman, who then lived in the house as parlour-maid, told how he used to sit in his nankeen frock, perched on the table by her as she was cleaning the plate, and expounding to her out of a volume as big as himself" (*Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, vol. i. p. 27). At the age of seven he composed a Universal History from "the Creation to the present time." To his own wonderful precocity, and the great care of his parents to prevent his being aware that he possessed exceptional powers, may be attributed his habitual over-estimate of the average knowledge of people in general. It is to be regretted that the want of interest in India's history and doings is scarcely less marked now in Englishmen, in and out of Parliament, than it was in 1840.

P. 1, l. 6. **Who imprisoned Montezuma.** Montezuma II., surnamed the Younger, ninth king of Mexico, was born in 1476, and reigned from 1502 to 1520—a man somewhat distinguished as a general, but arrogant, superstitious, and sensual. He enervated his strength of mind and body by his excessive indulgences; and, though by his superiority in war he extended his dominion over neighbouring territories, he ruined himself in the affections of his people by his contemptuous persecution of plebeians. Hernando Cortez (1485-1554), a man of distinguished ability and wonderful resource, but cold-blooded and cruel, quitted the study of the law

for the profession of arms, and sailed with Velasquez for Cuba in 1511, and from thence to Mexico in command of the Spanish expedition of 1518. He burnt his ships on landing to ensure the valour of his soldiers; and, being received at first with courtesy by the Mexicans, proceeded by an act of treachery to seize and imprison their king. Montezuma was, however, soon released on professing himself a vassal of Charles V.; but the people rising against the tyranny of Cortez, the Spaniards besieged and reduced the city of Mexico, and overran the entire territories, committing almost incredible atrocities. Montezuma accidentally received a mortal wound during a second siege of Mexico by the Mexicans, and Cortez was rewarded by Charles V. with the title of Marquis.

P. 1, l. 6. **Who strangled Atahualpa.** Atahualpa, or Atabalipa, twelfth and last Inca of Peru, on the death of his father, In 1523, entered into a contest for the throne with the more legitimate claimant, his half-brother Huascar. He defeated Huascar and imprisoned him, and is said to have put to death 200 of the royal family. When Francisco Pizarro landed with Almagro in Peru, in 1531, both brothers sought his help. Pretending to take the part of the reigning Inca, Pizarro lured him to a meeting near Caxamarca, and there taking him prisoner, horribly massacred his defenceless retinue. After this, the Spanish adventurer extorted an enormous ransom from his prisoner, and then tried him for a pretended conspiracy, and condemned him to be burnt. As Atahualpa consented to become a Christian, he was rewarded by being first strangled. In 1535 Pizarro laid the foundation of Lima. In 1537 he defeated and executed Almagro, who had become jealous of his power; but in 1541 he was himself assassinated in his own palace by the son and friends of Almagro.

P. 1, l. 9. **Who won the battle of Buxar.** Near the town of Buxar, in Bengal, on October 23, 1764, Major, afterwards Sir Hector, Monro gained a great victory over the Nabob of Oude, the hereditary Prime Minister of the Emperor. Six thousand of the natives were killed, and 160 pieces of cannon were taken. The loss of the English was trifling. It is somewhat peculiar that Macaulay makes no further reference to this battle. It was scarcely less important than Plassey. The Nabob (*i.e.* *Nawab*, ruler of a province), Sujah-ud-Dowlah, was the only chief of any importance in the north, and the victory thus made the English complete masters of the valley of the Ganges from the Himalayas to the sea.

P. 1, l. 9. **The massacre of Patna.** Meer Cassim, Nabob

of Bengal, having been overthrown by the English in the battle of Gheriah on August 2, 1763, proceeded by way of revenge to massacre the English prisoners at Patna, together with Ramnarayun, the deposed governor, Raja-raj-bullub, governor of Dacca, and his sons, and the Moorshedabad bankers. (See note, p. 129.)

P. 1, l. 11. **Holkar.** Jeswunt Rao Holkar was a Hindu Mahratta chief, and long a very formidable enemy to the English in central India. In 1805 he was compelled by them to surrender all his maritime provinces; but the insurrection of the Pindarees in 1807 induced him again to take up arms. The defection of his ally the Peishwa deranged his operations, and he was ultimately deprived of two-thirds of his dominions. He died in 1811.

P. 1, l. 12. **The victories of Cortez were gained over savages, &c.** Macaulay's information is not exact on this point. The Mexicans, or Aztecs, were not altogether ignorant of the use of metals. "The wealthier chiefs wore . . . a cuirass made of thin plates of gold or silver." (Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, i. 41.) "Their helmets were sometimes of silver." (*Ibid.* i. 42). Prescott likewise says of the soldiers that "their discipline was so good as to draw forth the encomiums of the Spanish conquerors." The MSS. of the Mexicans are described by Prescott (i. 90-95), and the dramatic writings of the Peruvians by Helps. (*Spanish Conquest in America*, iii. 481.) The Mexicans were, moreover, civilised enough to have hospitals for the cure of the sick, which served also as refuges for decayed soldiers. As to the fear of horses, Helps tells us (iv. 61) that the Peruvians invariably killed all they could get hold of.

P. 1, l. 18. **Harquebustier.** Arquebuss is derived from the Dutch *haeckbuyse*, *haeckbusse*, and means a gun fired from a rest, from *haeck*, A.S. *hæcce*, the hooked or forked rest on which it is supported, and *busse*, German *büchse*, A.S. *buc*, a pot, also a fire-arm. In Scotch it was called a *hagbut* or *croche*.

P. 2, l. 1. **Buildings more beautiful, &c.** Amongst these may be mentioned Shah Jehan's red granite palace at Shâh-Jehânpoor, or new Delhi, the Jumma Musjed mosque in the same city, the Jain temples at Ajmeer, the beautiful Taj Mahal, which Shah Jehan raised as a mausoleum for his queen at Agra, and the granite and marble tomb of Humayun at Delhi.

P. 2, l. 4. **Ferdinand the Catholic.** Ferdinand V., son of John II., king of Navarre and Aragon, and husband of Isabella of Castile, was born in 1452. The chief events of his long and distinguished reign were the conquest of Granada, the establishment of the

Inquisition, and the discoveries of Columbus under his patronage. The pomp and pageantry of his court are vividly described by Prescott in his *History*, which was published in 1838. Ferdinand died in 1516.

P. 2, 5. **Long trains of artillery.** This is somewhat of an exaggeration, for artillery was used only on a limited scale by the natives. (See the admirable *appendix* "On the early use of gunpowder in India," in vol. vi. of Sir H. Elliot's *History of India as told by its own historians*.) Speaking of gunpowder, Sir H. Elliot says "this destructive agent appears to have fallen into disuse before we reach authentic history" (vol. vi. 482). He also states (*ibid.* p. 468) that "the experienced artillerists of Bengal" mentioned by Bâber were probably pupils of the Portuguese, and that they used rockets much more commonly than cannon-balls.

P. 2, l. 6. **The Great Captain.** Gonsalvo Hernandez de Cordova, born of a noble family near Cordova in Spain, in 1453, so far distinguished himself in the wars against the Moors under Ferdinand and Isabella, and again in the recovery of Naples from the French (who had taken it under Charles VIII. in 1495), as to gain the title of "the Great Captain." When Louis XII. renewed the invasion of Italy, Gonsalvo again drove out the French, and was made viceroy of Naples; but, incurring the jealousy of Ferdinand, he retired to Granada, and there died in 1515.

P. 2, l. 15. **Mr. Mill's book.** James Mill, political economist and historian, was born in Kincardineshire in 1774. He published the *History of British India*, a work of great research and powerful reasoning, in 1818. Most readers agree in Macaulay's estimate of it. Mill died in 1836.

P. 2, l. 17. **Orme.** Robert Orme, historian and distinguished servant of the East India Company, was born at Anjengo, in the East Indies, in 1728. He published the first volume of his *History of the Military Transactions of the British in Hindostan* in 1763, and the second in 1778. He died in 1801. It is interesting to notice that Macaulay makes great use of Orme's History, employing his very words in numerous cases. Orme was personally acquainted with Clive, and himself witnessed much of what he relates.

P. 2, l. 28. **Sir John Malcolm.** Sir John Malcolm, a distinguished soldier and diplomatist, was born in 1769. He spent most of his life in the service of the East India Company, filling at last the post of governor of Bombay in 1827. In 1831 he returned to England, and devoted the remaining years of his life to parliament, and to literary pursuits. His most valuable work is the *History of*

*Pensia.* He died in 1833, and a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

P. 2, l. 28. **The late Lord Powis.** Clive's eldest son, Edward, born March 7, 1754.

P. 3, l. 8. **Whose love passes the love of biographers.** A form of expression borrowed from 2 Sam. i. 26, "Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women." Like Burke (and like Ruskin at the present day) Macaulay was so saturated with the noble language of our Recognized Version of the Bible, that its phrases and turns of expression are to be found on almost any of his pages, though often the reference is so slight that only the faintest flavour of the original is to be perceived. The best example is perhaps the following: "The iron had not yet entered into the soul. The time was not yet come when eloquence was to be gagged, and reason to be hoodwinked, when the harp of the poet was to be hung up on the willows of the Arno, and the right hand of the painter was to forget its cunning." (*Essay on Machiavelli.*)

P. 3, l. 11. **The severe judgment of Mr. Mill.** "With great audacity, both military and political, fortunately adapted to the scene in which he acted, and with considerable skill in the adaptation of temporary expedients to temporary exigencies, he had no capacity for a comprehensive scheme, including any moderate anticipation for the future." (*History of British India*, vol. iii. p. 492.) Mr. Mill likewise charges Clive with a very artful care for his own interests, and some amount of insolence in his conduct to the directors; and states in another place (iii. 170) that "Clive was a person to whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never gave a pang."

P. 3, l. 31. **The old seat of his ancestors.** Styche, in the parish of Moreton Say.

P. 4, l. 5. **Says one of his uncles.** Mr. Bayley, of Hope Hall, near Manchester, who had married a sister of Mrs. Clive, and with whom Robert Clive had lived from his third year—*why* it is not clear, unless it were from economical motives. The remark occurs in a letter written in 1732, Clive's seventh year.

P. 4, l. 17. **He was sent from school to school.** The first was at Lostocke in Cheshire, the last two, Merchant Taylors' School and a private academy in Hemel Hempstead, in Hertfordshire.

P. 4, l. 20. **One of his masters.** A D. Eaton, who is said to have predicted that, "if his scholar lived to be a man, and opportunity for the exertion of his talents were afforded, he would win for



himself a name second to few in history." Another characteristic anecdote told of him is to the effect that, on the breaking down of a mound of turf by means of which his youthful banditti were labouring to turn a dirty watercourse into the shop-door of an obnoxious dealer, he threw himself into the gutter, and filled the breach with his body till his companions were in a condition more effectually to repair the damage.

P. 5, l. 24. **The prophet's gourd.** (See Jonah iv.)

P. 6, l. 18. **The great Mogul.** (See Introduction.)

P. 6, l. 23. **There is still a Nizam.** The Nizam of Hyderabad. The present representative is a mere boy. His Dewan, or prime minister, Sir Salar Jung, was one of England's staunchest friends during the terrible Sepoy mutiny, laying her under a debt of gratitude not lightly to be forgotten. (See *Macmillan's Magazine*, August 1876.)

P. 8, l. 7. **Wallenstein.** Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius, Count von Waldstein, the great general of the Imperialists in the Thirty Years' War, was born of an ancient and noble family of Bohemia, in 1583. He was murdered at the castle of Egra, in 1634. His eventful career furnished Schiller with the subject of his splendid trilogy, *Wallenstein's Camp*, *The Piccolomini*, and *The Death of Wallenstein*. A fine translation of the last two was made by Coleridge.

P. 8, l. 14. **The war of the Austrian succession.** The Emperor Charles VI. had died October 20, 1740. The succession of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to his hereditary dominions, the dukedom of Austria, and the kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia, was guaranteed by the Pragmatic Sanction, to which England was a party; but it was also claimed by the Elector of Bavaria, who assumed the title of Duke of Austria, and whose cause was supported by France, and consequently by the Bourbon king of Spain. Frederick II. of Prussia, known as Frederick the Great, resolved to profit by this conjuncture, and entering Silesia at the head of 30,000 men, defeated the Austrians at Molwitz (1741). The English, Dutch, Hanoverian, and Hessians espoused the cause of Maria Theresa. The war continued with varying success till the spring of 1748. In October of that year it was concluded for a time by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. (See Macaulay's *Essay on Frederick the Great*, and Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*, 241-254.)

P. 8, l. 34. **Labourdonnais.** Bertrand François Mahé de la Bourdonnais (1699-1751) entered the French East India Company

at the age of nineteen, and soon rose to distinction. In 1734 he was appointed governor-general of Île de France and Bourbon. On his return to his native land he was thrown into the Bastille, and languished there for three years and a half. The charge brought against him was that he had been corrupted at the taking of Madras. It was made by Dupleix, in spite of whose endeavours he was eventually acquitted; but not till his spirit and health were broken, and his fortune spent. Voltaire said of him that "he was able to do much with little, and was as intelligent in commerce as he was skilful in naval affairs." He is no doubt best known through the mention made of him in the story of *Paul and Virginia*.

P. 9, l. 2. **Dupleix.** Joseph Dupleix was a French merchant, who, as head of the factory at Chandernagore, raised it to such a pitch of prosperity that, in 1742, he was appointed governor of Pondicherry, and director-general of the French factories in India. He died in poverty in 1763, nine years after his shameful recall.

P. 10, l. 5. **Major Lawrence.** Major Stringer Lawrence was born in 1697, and was for twenty years a distinguished soldier of the East India Company. After his death, in 1774, the Company erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

P. 10, l. 8. **Peace had been concluded.** The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed Oct. 7, 1748, between Great Britain, France, Holland, Germany, Spain, and Genoa. Conquests were mutually restored, with the exception of Silesia, which was retained by Frederick the Great.

P. 10, l. 20. **The English and French Companies.** (See Introduction.) It must be borne in mind that the settlements of the French in the East at this time were more extensive, and of far greater political importance than those of the English, whose sole aim hitherto had been trade, not political power. Besides the French kept a much greater number of regular troops on foot, and had already begun to arm and discipline battalions of Sepoys after the European fashion.

P. 10, l. 23. **The house of Tamerlane.** (See Introduction.)

P. 10, l. 24. **Baber and his Moguls.** (See Introduction.)

P. 10, l. 30. **Travellers who had seen St. Peter's.** François Bernier, for instance, or, more notably, Sir Thomas Roe (1580-1644), who left an interesting account of his embassy in 1615 to Jehangir, at whose court he remained three years. He seems to have been perfectly dazzled by the splendour around him; and not

least by the gold and jewels on the foreheads of the royal elephants. Fitch also wrote an account of his visit to the court of Akbar in 1583. (See Introduction.)

P. 11, l. 33. **Theodosius.** Theodosius the Great, Emperor of the East, was a native of Spain, and was born about 346. He died at Milan in 395, leaving the empire to be divided between his sons Arcadius and Honorius. In the reign of the latter the frontiers of the Western Empire began to recede before barbarian invaders, and the province of Britain was abandoned. During the government of the feeble descendants of Theodosius the reins of empire were really handled by women, eunuchs, and barbarian generals who intrigued with and against each other for no object but their own personal aggrandisement. Disgrace after disgrace overtook the so-called Roman armies. Within sixty years Rome was twice sacked by Alaric the Goth and Genseric the Vandal, while the fairest provinces of the empire passed under the dominion of alien masters, and the Vandals, the Alans, the Goths, and the Huns ruled as lords over Roman citizens. This passage should be very carefully studied, as one of the finest in the essay, and as very characteristic of Macaulay's best manner. Its picturesque clearness and wide range of view are admirable; and, though the sentences are somewhat abrupt and stiff, and the number of full-stops somewhat excessive, there is nevertheless a vigour and a ring about the words which is all Macaulay's own. The parallel which he draws will not bear pushing very far, for the facts show very little more than a superficial likeness. (See Introduction.)

P. 12, l. 1. **Charlemagne.** Charles the Great, king of the Franks, and Emperor of the West, was born at Salzburg in 742. His empire extended from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and from the Atlantic and the Ebro to the Raab and the mouth of the Oder. He died in 814, and was buried at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). Charles the Bald, Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple ruled the Frankish empire from 840 to 929.

P. 12, l. 8. **Fierce invaders.** Neustria, formerly the kingdom of Soissons in West Francia, was allotted to Clothair I., in 511, as his portion of the dominions of his father Clovis (Hlodwig or Louis). The part of it which began to be called Normandy about 876 was, after many incursions, ceded to the Scandinavian chief Rollo by Charles the Simple, in 905. A Scythian tribe called the Ungri, and a Finnish tribe of Magyars, settled in Hungary in 890. But the westward progress of the latter was checked by their defeat

by Henry the Fowler, king of the Germans, in 934. The Saracens in 711 commenced the expulsion of the Visigoths from Spain (who had settled there in 474), and established the Caliphate of Cordova in 755. They conquered Sicily between the years 832 and 878. It was in 887 that the Frankish kingdoms of Charles the Fat were finally split up.

P. 12, l. 16. **Gog, or Magog.** See Revelations xx. 8. "Gog" occurs in more than one place in the Old Testament as a proper name (*e.g.* Ezekiel xxxviii. 3, 14, xxxix. 11), but the two names are generally taken as symbols for the heathen nations of Asia, probably the Scythians, of whom the Jews heard only rumours. Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 6, 3) puts Σκύθαι for "Magog," and Jerome agrees with him. Suidas renders it Πέρσαι, which is not very different, for "Scythians" was a name given in general by the Jews to partially known tribes. (See also Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, article "Magog.")

P. 12, l. 18. **Pannonian forests.** Pannonia was a district bounded on the north and east by the Danube, on the south by the Save, and on the west by Styria.

P. 13, l. 3. **Bang.** "A decoction of the dried leaves of hemp, is eminently narcotic, and forms the well-known intoxicating Turkish drug called 'bang' or 'haschish.'" (Loudon's *Encyclopædia of Plants*, p. 1083.)

P. 13, l. 10. **Bernier.** François Bernier, a celebrated French traveller who resided twelve years at the court of Aurungzebe as his physician. His "Travels," which have always been popular, and have been translated into many languages, were published in 1670. He died in 1688.

P. 13, l. 10. **The Peacock Throne** was erected by the Emperor Shah Jehan in his palace at Delhi, at a cost estimated at six and a half millions sterling. It was plundered by Nadir Shah in 1739.

P. 13, l. 14. **Ranjit Sing.** Ranjit Sing (1780-1839), the "Lion of the Panjâb," was appointed governor of Lâhôr in 1797 by the Afgân monarch Zemân Shâh, and his life was devoted to enlarging his territory. In 1831 he had an interview with Lord W. Bentinck, at Rupâr on the Satlaj, which was conducted with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and an assurance of perpetual amity was given him by the Governor-General. He co-operated with the English in their ill-fated attempt to replace Shâh Shuja on the throne of Afgânistân. The "Mountain of Light," or the "Kôh-

i-nûr," has had a rather eventful history. In the fifteenth century it was possessed by one of the Afgân emperors of Delhi of the house of Lôdi, who had taken it from a prince of Mâlwa. It was then taken by Ahmed Shâh Abdâll, who transmitted it to Shâh Shuja, who gave it to Ranjît Sing. Ranjît bequeathed it at his death in 1839 to the idol of Jagannâth ; but on the annexation of the Panjâb in 1849 it came into the possession of the East India Company, who presented it to Queen Victoria, June 3, 1850.

P. 13, l. 15. **The idol of Orissa.** That of Jagannâth, "the Lord of the World," in the temple in the city of Puri, near the mouth of the Mahannadi. Jagannâth is one of the many forms of the god Vishnu (for an account of whose worship and temple see W. W. Hunter's *Orissa*, i. 81). The present temple was built in 1198 A.D. The notion that the god was propitiated by self-murder is thus remarked on by Mr. Hunter : "The few suicides that did occur were, for the most part, cases of diseased and miserable objects, who took this means to put themselves out of pain. (*As. Res.* xv. 324; *Calcutta Review*, x. 235, &c.) The official returns now place this beyond doubt. Indeed, nothing could be more opposed to the spirit of Vishnu-worship than self-immolation." (*Orissa*, i. 134.)

P. 13, l. 15. **The Afghan soon followed.** Ahmed Shâh Abdâll, in 1751. He passed the Attock to invade India altogether six times, between 1747 and 1761.

P. 14, l. 8. **Redeemed their harvests, &c.** The "annual ransom" was termed the *chout*, and was first levied by Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta power, in 1665. It amounted to *one-fourth* of the revenue.

P. 14, l. 11. **One rapacious leader.** Bâji Râo, Peishwâ of the Mahrattas in 1736, advanced upon Delhi to prove, as he said, "that he was still in Hindustan." (See Introduction.)

P. 14, l. 18. **Mahratta ditch.** Made in 1742, as a defence against the Mahrattas, who, under Meer Hubeeb, were laying waste Bengal.

P. 15, l. 20. **Dictate terms of peace at the gates of Ava.** Hostilities were commenced in 1824. Aracan was ceded, and a peace was signed on February 24, 1826.

P. 15, l. 35. **Saxe.** Maurice, Comte de Saxe, and Marshal of France, was a natural son of Frederic Augustus II., king of Poland, and was born at Dresden in 1696. He died in 1750. He was one of the most distinguished and dashing commanders, and one of the

most dissolute men of his time. See Carlyle's wonderful description of him in *The Princesraub*. (Misc. Essays.) He calls him "probably the worst speller ever known," and does not think highly of his military powers. (See note, p. 121.)

P. 17, l. 1. **Nizam al Mulk**. Chên Kilich Khân (1644-1748) was the son of Ghazi-ud-deen, a favourite of Aurungzebe, of Tartar origin. By this emperor he was decorated with the titles Asof-Jah and Nizam-ul-mulk, and appointed *Subahdar* of the Deccan in 1713. Here, like so many others, he contrived after a time to make himself independent, and to establish his power as Nizam of Hyderabad in 1724.

P. 17, l. 11. **Son-in-law of a former Nabob**. The former nabob, or *nawab*, was Doost Ali. Chunda Sahib married one daughter, and Mortaza Ali the other.

P. 17, l. 13. **Anaverdy Khan**. Properly Anwâr-ud-dîn. Having been entrusted by Nizam-ul-mulk with the guardianship of the youthful son of Sufdur Ali, on the murder of the child he seized the vacant nabobship of the Carnatic (1740), and founded the family afterwards so notorious. After playing fast and loose with the English and French for many years, he was at last routed and slain by the latter in a battle fought at Ambûr, near Arcot, in 1750. It may be worth while to remark that, though always used now, the definite adjective "the" before Carnatic is quite superfluous.

P. 17, l. 28. **Sepoys**. A corruption of *Sipâhî*, Hindustani for *soldier*.

P. 17, l. 33. **Who owes to the eloquence of Burke**. Edmund Burke (1730-1797). The speech on the payment of the Nabob of Arcot's debts is here referred to. This speech, one of the most impassioned Burke ever made, and, in Lord Brougham's opinion, by far his finest, was delivered in 1785; in it there is more wealth of imagery, more invective, and more sarcasm than, perhaps, in any other of his. The following passage is especially noteworthy, and will serve as an excellent contrast to Macaulay's style:—"All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank or sacredness of function, fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity in an unknown and hostile land."

P. 18, l. 7. **Mirzapha Jung survived**, &c. He was slain in January 1751 while fighting against three Patan nabobs, who, after assisting in his elevation, had become discontented with their rewards. In the confusion which followed his fall, Bussy, who was fighting for him, never lost his presence of mind, and succeeded in securing the vacant dignity for Salabut Jung, the third son of the old Nizam.

P. 19, l. 8. **The vain-glorious Frenchman**. Macaulay is too severe in his tone with regard to this man, who understood the natives even better than Clive; and who, had he been properly treated by his ungrateful country, might have surpassed the exploits of even his great rival himself. Both Orme and Mill, though condemning many of his acts, and his frequent want of truth (often called diplomacy), refrain from speaking of him in terms of contempt. Orme indeed hardly sets any limits to what he might have done, and concludes an eloquent passage on what he really accomplished with the opinion that, when we take all this into consideration, "we cannot refrain from acknowledging and admiring the sagacity of his genius." (Orme, i. 377.)

P. 22, l. 15. **The Tenth Legion of Cæsar**. This legion is frequently mentioned in Cæsar's *Commentaries* as one on which he especially relied, and on which he bestowed marked favour; so much so, that, when his soldiers were discouraged by the reported valour of the army of Ariovistus, Cæsar professed his readiness to advance to the attack with this legion only. It frequently distinguished itself during his wars in Gaul, particularly on "the day he overcame the Nervii," and in his first invasion of Britain. It accompanied him during the civil war with Pompey, and took part in the victory of Pharsalia (B.C. 48).

P. 22, l. 15. **The Old Guard of Napoleon**. The Imperial Guard was formed by Napoleon in 1804, and in 1809 was divided by him into the *Old* and *Young Guard*. As soldiers could not be enrolled in the former till they had served four campaigns in the line with distinction, or from the preparatory corps of the Young Guard, it was an institution of the highest military policy. In 1812 the Imperial Guard numbered 56,000 men. It was dissolved by Louis XVIII. in 1815, and revived by Napoleon III. in 1854. It took part in the Crimean War of 1855.

P. 23, l. 14. **Hosein, the son of Ali**. Ali (Ben Abû Taleb), fourth Caliph, was the cousin of Muhammad, and his first disciple. He married Fatima, the favourite daughter of the Prophet. His

claims to the caliphate were set aside in favour, successively, of Abû-Bekr, Omar, and Othman ; but on the death of Othman, in 656, he was proclaimed. Ayesha, the widow of the Prophet, and others opposed him ; and a plot was formed by three fanatics to stop the rising schism by the murder of those chiefly concerned. Ali was slain at Cufah in 661. His adherents, who maintained that he was the first rightful Caliph, formed the sect of the Shî'is ; his opponents that of the Sunnis. Ali left two sons by his wife Fatima : Hassan, who succeeded him, but abdicated in a few months, and was poisoned by order of Yezid, in 659 ; and Hosein, who became the rival of Yezid and was murdered by his orders in the plain of Kerbela in 680. The anniversary is kept by the Shî'is on September 14, and is called the " Muharram," from the name of the month in which it occurs.

P. 27, l. 14. **Captain Bobadil.** A foolish braggart captain, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his humour*.

P. 27, l. 21. **The celebrated Bussy.** Charles Joseph Patissier, Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau, was born 1798, and died at Pondicherry in 1785. The most interesting part of his history is told in this essay.

P. 27, l. 30. **Chunda Sahib fell into the hands.** Chunda Sahib, deserted by his own officers (June 1752), surrendered himself to the general of the Tanjore troops, to be passed through the lines in disguise. The general betrayed him, and the English, Mahomed Ali, and the Mahrattas all claimed the captive. The general, to get out the difficulty, put the unfortunate Nabob to death. Chunda Sahib's real name was Hosein Dost Cawn. *Chunda* was a pet name conferred on him by his family, and was used by the English because his rival and their ally, Mahomed Ali, constantly designated him contemptuously by that appellation, which was one often applied to menial servants.

P. 28, l. 23. **Crimps.** "Crimps" were kidnappers of men, who entrapped them, and *kept them like fish in a stew* till they could dispose of them to the army or navy ; Dutch *krimpe*, a stew where fish are kept till they are wanted, from *krimpen*, to contract. The root occurs in various modified forms in a very large number of English words, e.g. *cramp*, *rumple*, *scramble*, *crump*-footed or *club*-footed, &c. "Crimping," or "pressing," was declared illegal by Parliament in 1641 ; but the first war in which we can be certain that it was not resorted to was the Crimean War of 1854-5.

P. 29, l. 14. **The eminent mathematician.** Dr. Nevil Maskelyne (1732-1811). He was best known, perhaps, for his



*Astronomical Observations*, of which Delambre says in his *Eloge*, that, if all the other materials of science were lost, these volumes would suffice to reconstruct modern astronomy.

P. 31, l. 11. **Newcastle.** The miserable incapacity of Newcastle may be guessed from the fact that, at the opening of 1756, with the gigantic struggle of the Seven Years' War plainly before him, there were only three regiments in England fit for service. At the first disaster (which drove Newcastle from office) a despondency seized the nation, which is, perhaps, without parallel in our history. In July 1757 Newcastle was recalled, and the accession of "the Great Commoner" made it possible for his Ministry to stand.

P. 31, l. 24. **Lord Sandwich.** John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich (1718-1792), negotiated the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, was First Lord of the Admiralty, and then Secretary of State in 1763, and again First Lord of the Admiralty in 1771. He was wounded in the "Gordon Riots."

P. 32, l. 1. **Sir Robert Walpole.** Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford (1676-1745), distinguished himself in the management of the impeachment of Sacheverel in 1710. He was First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1715, and again First Lord in 1721. (See Macaulay's *Essays on Horace Walpole's Letters*, and on *Lord Mahon's War of the Succession in Spain*.) "Many of his contemporaries had a morality quite as lax as his; but very few among them had his talents, and none had his hardihood and energy." (*Essay on Lord Holland*.)

P. 33, l. 22. **Of the provinces, &c.** Another of the memorable passages of this essay; full of the picturesque touches and allusions which rendered it the most popular that Macaulay ever wrote. It will be remembered that he is describing scenes which he himself had witnessed, and people amongst whom he himself had lived.

P. 34, l. 8. **Its population multiplied exceedingly.** "He blesseth them so that *they multiply exceedingly*, and suffereth not their cattle to decrease." Psalm cvii. 38 (Prayer-Book version).

P. 34, l. 30. **The great commercial companies.** For an account of the rise of the European factories, see Introduction.

P. 35, l. 5. **But the tract now covered, &c.** Compare

Miratur molem *Aeneas* *magalia* quondam,  
Miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.

VIRGIL, *Aeneid*, l. 421.

P. 35, l. 17. **Aliverdy Khan.** Muhammad Ali (1676-1756),

a Tartar adventurer, who, owing his fortunes almost entirely to Suja-ud-deen, conspired against his son, Serferaj Khan, and obtained the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa (1740), which he soon formed into an independent kingdom. He was one of the most remarkable men of a remarkable time. "The people at large during his life experienced such care and satisfaction from his gentle administration as could not be exceeded by the indulgence of a parent; while, at the same time, the lowest of his officers grew rich in his service. He was intelligent in all affairs, and encouraged the deserving of every profession. Affable in manners, wise in state affairs, courageous as a general, he possessed also every noble quality." (Scott's *Dekkan*, ii. pp. 356-7.)

P. 36, l. 22. **A rich native.** Raja-raj-bullub, one of the Hindu officers whom it had been the policy of Aliverdy to place in positions of trust, had amassed great wealth, and shortly before the death of the old viceroy had been appointed governor of Dacca. As his predecessor in that office had been assassinated and plundered by order of Suraja Dowlah, he was anxious to place his family and treasures out of reach of the tyrant. He managed, on pretence of a pilgrimage to Jagannáth, to send his son, Kissen-dass, with the greater part of his wealth to Calcutta. It was the surrender of this man that Suraja Dowlah demanded.

P. 36, l. 33. **The fort was taken, &c.** The resistance lasted forty-eight hours, under Mr. Holwell. Repeated signals of distress were made, day and night, to the vessels anchored below the town, but though a rescue might have been attempted at any time with perfect safety, not one vessel was moved to the assistance of the unfortunate garrison. This is the evidence of John Cooke, who was at that time secretary to the Governor and Council of Calcutta, in the first report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1772. Orme remarks:—"Never, perhaps, was such an opportunity for performing an heroic action so ignominiously neglected; for a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon" (ii. 78).

P. 37, l. 6. **It was the summer solstice.** The atrocity was committed on the night of June 20, 1756. It is somewhat remarkable that the author of the *Sujar-ul-Mula-akhirim* (a native history of these times) does not mention this crime, while his translator treats it as a mere piece of carelessness (see Mustafá's trans-

lation, i. note 42, p. 721; while again Mr. Mill (vol. i, p. 166, note) sets off against it the atrocities of English imprisonment at home. Prof. H. H. Wilson, in a note on the following page, clearly shows that there was far more than carelessness in this act of wanton cruelty. Macaulay's account should be compared with Orme's (ii. 74), the lines of which he closely follows, and in parts greatly improves.

P. 37, l. 31. **Ugolino.** Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, podestà of Pisa, was starved to death with his children by Archbishop Ruggieri, his fellow-conspirator, and afterwards his bitter enemy. Dante (*Inferno*, xxxiii.) represents him frozen with Ruggieri in a crevice of ice, gnawing his murderer's skull. For an account of him and his death, see Napier's *Florentine History*, i. 318, and Villani, vii. 128. Chaucer relates the story in his *Monkes Tale*, following Dante's version closely enough. Ugolino tells Dante how his children died one after the other, and how he fondled their dead bodies "till hunger did what sorrow could not do."

P. 37, l. 34. **They cried for mercy**, &c. This passage is a perfect example of nervous incisive narrative. The words seem to come with short quickened breath, through clenched teeth. Especially noticeable, though the idea is taken from Orme, are the contrasts in, "At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. *The day broke. The Nabob had slept off his debauch,* and permitted the door to be opened." Here the shortness of the sentences is entirely a gain.

P. 39, l. 26. **In October the expedition sailed.** It sailed on October 10, and arrived at Fulta, twenty miles S.S.W. of Calcutta, on December 15. The time seems prodigious, but it must be remembered that the distance is not very far short of 1,000 miles, or nearly as far as from London to Lisbon.

P. 46, l. 27. **Clive was in a painfully anxious situation.** Clive's state of mind may be clearly seen in his letter to the Committee, dated from Cutwa, on June 19, 1757. He writes:—"I feel the greatest anxiety at the little intelligence I receive from Meer Jaffier, and, if he is not treacherous, his *sangfroid* or want of strength will, I fear, upset the expedition. I am trying a last effort, by means of a Brahmin, to prevail upon him to march out and join us. I have appointed Plassey as the place of rendezvous, and have told him at the same time that, unless he gives this or some other sufficient proof of the sincerity of his intentions, I will not cross the river. This, I hope, will meet with your approbation

. . . . . I desire you will give your sentiments freely how you think I should act if Meer Jaffier can give us no assistance' (*Life*, i. 257). Compared with his usual dictatorial letters, this shows the greatest uncertainty of mind.

P. 47, l. 29. **The furies of those, &c.** Compare, for instance, the *Eumenides* of the great trilogy of Æschylus. The Furies, or Eumenides, represented the avenging forces of the moral order of the world, and were believed never to rest till expiation had been made for crime. (See Schlegel's *Dramatic Literature*, Lecture vi.)

P. 47, l. 32. **At sunrise.** The morning of June 23. The numbers given as those of the Nabob's army differ much in the different accounts. Orme says 50,000 foot and 18,000 horse; Scrafton, in his *Reflections*, says 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse; while Clive himself (*Life*, i. 263) says 35,000 foot and 15,000 horse. To estimate the numbers in a battle is always difficult, and nothing better than a rough approximation can ever be obtained. Macaulay's battle pieces are always fine examples of picturesque vigour. They are elaborated with great care; and we find from his journal (*Life*, ii. 218) that he made a point of visiting the localities whenever this was possible. They form some of the most brilliant touches of his brilliant History. See especially the Battles of Sedgmoor (chap. v.), of Killiecrankie (chap. xiii.), of the Boyne (chap. xvi.), &c. In this respect he is quite equalled by Sir W. Napier in his *History of the War in the Peninsula*; see especially the splendid description of the Battle of Albuera. Macaulay, however, here closely follows Orme's account of the battle (ii. 173), and perhaps somewhat improves it. The Nabob's forces consisted almost entirely of Rajpoots, soldiers from their childhood, and for centuries the most distinguished in war of the tribes of Hindustan.

P. 49, l. 9. **An empire larger and more populous, &c.** Mill rates the population at about 30,000,000. Clive attributes the smallness of the numbers lost by the English to the fact that "the army was sheltered by so high a bank that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them much mischief," and to the want of confidence in each other on the part of the Nabob and his troops, which further destroyed their effectiveness.

P. 52, l. 2. **Machiavelli.** Nicolo Machiavelli, the celebrated Florentine statesman and historian, was born of an ancient family in 1469. As secretary of the Council named "The Ten," a post which he held from 1498 to 1512, he was one of the most prominent actors in the foreign affairs of the republic. On the restoration of

the Medici (1512) he was banished, and in the following year he was arrested on a charge of conspiracy, but was soon pardoned and released. The next eight years he spent in retirement and literary work, and was then again employed as an ambassador. He died at Florence in 1527. The work by which he is best known is his *Del Principe*, a treatise on the principles of policy, full of a cold-blooded wisdom, the most perfect personification of which is shown to be "the Prince," evidently Cæsar Borgia. It was probably written to gratify the Medici, and was published in 1532. In 1502 Machiavelli had been sent as an envoy to Cæsar Borgia, ostensibly to thank him for the protection he had given to Florentine commerce, but really to sound him as to his intentions towards the republic. He remained three months in the court and camp of the prince, and witnessed the planning and execution of many of Borgia's plots.

P. 52, l. 4. **Borgia.** Cæsar Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI., was created cardinal soon after his father's election in 1492. He was one of the most crafty, cruel, and licentious men that disfigure the page of history. In 1498 he resigned his dignity of cardinal, and spent the rest of his life in insurrections and petty wars, and crimes perhaps never equalled except by those of his sister Lucretia. He was killed at a siege in Spain in 1507. For Macaulay's estimate of this remarkable man see *Essay on Machiavelli*.

P. 52, l. 6. **Honesty is the best policy.** A popular saying, the earliest English uses of which I have been able to find are in Byrom, *The Nimmers*, and North's *Life of Lord Keeper Guilford* (1740). It occurs also in *Don Quixote*, part ii. ch. 33.

P. 52, l. 33. "**Yea, yea,**" and "**Nay, nay.**" "But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay" (James v. 12). See also Matthew v. 37. Another of the numerous examples of Macaulay's constant use of Biblical phraseology.

P. 53, l. 9. **Rupees.** The rupee is an Indian silver coin, worth then about 2s. Lately, owing to the depreciation in the value of silver, its value has fallen to 1s. 8d., and even to 1s. 6½d. (1876).

P. 53, l. 16. **Salary.** A word very happily used in this context, for it is derived from the Latin *salarium*, an allowance of salt, and then a *soldier's* pay.

P. 54, l. 14. **The shower of wealth now fell, &c.** The following details, extracted from Clive's official letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated at Moorsheadabad, July 26, 1758, will be of interest here:—"The substance of the treaty

with the present Nabob is as follows :—(i.) Confirmation of the mint, and all others grants and privileges in the treaty with the late Nabob. (ii.) An alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies whatever. (iii.) The French factories and effects to be delivered up, and they never permitted to resettle in any of the provinces. (iv.) One hundred lacs of rupees (=one million sterling) to be paid to the Company in consideration of the loss at Calcutta, and the expenses of the campaign. (v.) Fifty lacs to be given to the English sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. (vi.) Twenty lacs to Gentoos, Moors, and black sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. (vii.) Seven lacs to the Armenian sufferers. These three last donations to be distributed at the pleasure of the Admiral and gentlemen of the Council, including me. (viii.) The entire property of all lands within the Mahratta ditch, which runs round Calcutta, to be vested in the Company; also 600 yards all round without the said ditch. (ix.) The Company to have the Zemindary (i.e. power of collecting the revenues of the country) to the south of Calcutta lying between the lake and the river, and reaching as far as Culpee, they paying the customary rents paid by the former Zemindars to the Government. (x.) Whenever the assistance of the English troops shall be wanted their extraordinary charge to be paid by the Nabob. (xi.) No forts to be erected by the Government on the riverside from Hooghly downwards. (xii.) The foregoing articles to be performed without delay, as soon as Meer Jaffier becomes Subahdar." (See Sir John Malcolm's *Life of Robert Lord Clive*, i. 268.) In the same letter Clive computes the revenue, mentioned in ix. at ten lacs, or 100,000*l*. The stipulations in iii. and xi. secured to the lords of Fort William the monopoly of the trade of all the districts through which the Ganges runs.

P. 54, l. 28. **Florins.** Florins were first made by the Florentines. A *florin* was issued by Edward III. in 1337 at a value of 6*s*. It was called *florin* after the Florentine coin, because the latter was of the best gold. The modern silver florin (value 2*s*.) was issued in England in 1849. (See Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*, and the authorities he quotes.)

P. 54, l. 28. **Byzants.** More commonly spelt *bezant*. O. Fr. *besant*; O.E. *besaunte* (Chaucer, *Rom. of the Rose*, 5595); L. Scot. *besand*. "An ancient piece of gold coin, offered by the French kings at the mass of their consecration at Rheims, and called a *Byzantine*, as a coin of this description was first struck at *Byzantium* or Constantinople. It is said to have been worth in French money fifty

pounds" (Jamieson, *Scottish Dictionary*). Camden gives its value as 15*l*. Bezants appear to have been current in England in the reign of Edward III.

P. 54, l. 28. **Before any European ship**, &c. The power of Venice in the East dates from the Latin conquest of Constantinople, in which she took part, and obtained, in return for her services, many islands and important posts on the coast of Asia Minor, the starting point of her great Eastern dominion.

P. 54, l. 32. **He accepted between two and three hundred thousand pounds**. The amount he accepted did not exceed sixteen lacs, or 160,000*l*. As one of the Committee he also received 28,000*l*. When in after times he was accused of rapacity, he indignantly replied, "When I recollect entering the treasury of Moorsheadabad, with the heaps of gold and silver to the right hand and to the left, and these crowned with jewels, I stand astonished at my own moderation." (See p. 90, and the note thereon; see also *Life*, i. 313).

P. 55, l. 5. **The biographer . . . Asiatic usage**. The argument that there was no law to forbid Clive's conduct is not Sir John Malcolm's but Mr. Mill's, who gives it as "one of the other considerations, to which the House never adverted, which fairly recommended the rejection, or at least a very great modification, of the penal proceeding" (*History*, iii. 454). Malcolm merely reiterates it, and with no great vehemence. He adds, "According to the ideas of that country, the reward was not excessive; no native of the East certainly deemed it so. And, if it be objected to as conferred by a foreign potentate, Clive must be content to share, in his fortunes as his fame, the fate of the Prince of Mindelheim, the Duke of Bronte, and the Duke of Vittoria" (*Life of Lord Clive*, iii. 430). The Emperor Joseph I. invested Marlborough with the principality of Mindelheim in 1705. Nelson was granted the estate of Bronte in Sicily, and the title of the Duke of Bronte by Ferdinand IV. king of Naples, in 1798; and Wellington was created Duke of Vittoria by Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, in 1813.

P. 57, l. 17. **The viceroy . . . of Oude**. Sujah-u-Dowlah. The independence of Oude dated from 1753, and its Nabobs had long been hereditary viziers of the empire. Oude was doubly formidable at this time because of its connexion with the French, and because it had more forces at its disposal than any other northern province. Its power was broken by the battle of Buxar, in 1764.

P. 58, l. 23. **The tract lying to the north of the Car-**

**natic.** Called the Northern Circars, four provinces which had been ceded to Bussy by the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1753. Bussy's power had been extinguished, however, through the jealousy and incompetency of Lally, the governor-general of the French possessions, in 1758. Lieutenant-Colonel Forde commanded the forces which Clive dispatched in the same year to these provinces, and gained a complete success by the capture of Masulipatam. This town and eight districts round it were ceded by the Nizam, Salabut Jung, to the English, and the French were excluded from the Nizam's dominions.

P. 59, l. 28. **The Governor of Patna.** Ramnarayun, i.e. Rām Nārāyun, the Rajah of Behar, of which Patna was the capital.

P. 60, l. 15. **Quit-rent.** A rent paid in money in discharge of services which would otherwise be due; Lat. *quietus redditus*, see Blackstone, bk. iii. ch. 2. It should be noticed that it was not the custom in India to grant *land*, but only the *revenues* of land. These beneficiary holdings were termed *jaghires*.

P. 60, l. 34. **The fame of the Dutch.** For an account of the Dutch power in India, see Introduction.

P. 62, l. 15. **Clive sailed for England.** This was on February 5, 1760. It would be well here to glance at the position of the English in India outside Bengal. On the Coromandel coast fortune had turned entirely against the French, and no rivalry was any longer to be feared from them in that part of the world. The battle of Wandewash in 1759 had destroyed the last hope of Lally, and, by leaving Bussy a captive in the hands of the victors, had deprived him of the only officer possessed of great abilities. The siege and capture of Pondicherry in January 1760 followed, and the town was razed to the ground. Fortune had also smiled on Bombay and its vicinity. Commerce was steadily on the increase; the ancient town of Surat, which had been the earliest settlement formed by the English on the shores of Indian seas, and was of great importance to Muhammadans, as the port from which they sailed on their pilgrimages to the tomb of the Prophet, had lately been placed under the protection of its more flourishing neighbour town, both by the factory and the native merchants; and the power of the great Seedee, or admiral of the emperor, who had hitherto been its supreme lord, had been overthrown. Its trade, too, had greatly increased in consequence.

P. 62, l. 24. **Pitt, whose influence, &c.** William Pitt the elder (1708-1778), "the great Commoner," it must be remembered,



was the grandson of a governor of Madras, and therefore had special reasons for his interest in Clive. The strength of this man's convictions, his passionate love for all that he deemed lofty and true, his fiery energy and impetuous eloquence, his poetic imaginativeness and inspired belief in humanity, and withal his lofty self-assumption and proud honesty make him—what Frederick the Great called him—emphatically “a man.” But it was his intense belief in the greatness and glory of England which chiefly gained him his enormous power both in and out of Parliament, and especially over the mercantile classes. There is an interesting letter to him from Clive given by Sir John Malcolm, and bearing date “Calcutta, January 7, 1759.” In it he dwells much on the advisability of the nation's taking out of the hands of the Company the government of their vast territories—a measure which was adopted only on August 2, 1858.

P. 62, l. 27. **That memorable period.** The year 1759 is perhaps the most memorable in the annals of England's military glory. The French were defeated at Minden in August; in the same month their fleet was beaten off Cape Lagos; Quebec was taken in September; and the Brest fleet was annihilated off Quiberon Bay by Admiral Hawke in November; while in the same year, in India, Forde and Coote were wresting the Northern Circars from Count Lally.

P. 62, l. 31. **The admiration of the King of Prussia.** There is an anecdote on this point which runs as follows (Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, ii. 157). In the year 1758, when public opinion had forced the Duke of Cumberland to resign the office of commander-in-chief to Lord Ligonier, the latter one day asked Frederick the Great's permission for the young Lord Dunmore to serve as a volunteer in the king's army. Leave was refused, whereupon the commander-in-chief went on to say, “May he not join the Duke of Brunswick then?” “Pshaw,” replied the king; “what can he get by attending the Duke of Brunswick? If he desires to learn the art of war, let him go to Clive.”

P. 62, l. 32. **There were then no reporters, &c.** The publication of debates was forbidden as a breach of privilege, but was virtually conceded in 1771. Miller, printer of the *London Evening Mail*, was arrested in the City of London by order of the House of Commons for publishing the debates, but was discharged by the Lord Mayor; for doing which the Lord Mayor was sent to the Tower, and remained there till the end of the session. But no

opposition was made to the publication of the debates in the next session of 1772. Reporters' galleries were erected in the Houses of Parliament after the fire of 1834. To the unfettered liberty of reporting we doubtless owe much of our freedom and good government. (See also Macaulay's account of the newspapers at the end of the seventeenth century, *History*, iv. 604-606.)

P. 63, l. 1. **The death of Wolfe.** September 13, 1759, at the siege of Quebec.

P. 63, l. 3. **The Duke of Cumberland had been generally unfortunate.** William Augustus Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765) was the second son of George II. In 1745 he had lost the battle of Fontenoy, in 1747 the battle of Laufeld, while in 1757 he had been compelled to give up Hanover, and to sign the convention of Closter-Seven. In 1746 he had won the battle of Culloden against the rebel Scots, but the atrocities which he committed after the victory gained for him the title of "The Butcher." Carlyle, writing of the victories of Maurice, Maréchal de Saxe, says "it is to be remembered, he gained them all over the Duke of Cumberland, who was beaten by everybody that tried, and never beat anything, except once some starved Highland peasants at Culloden." (Prinzenraub. *Miscel. Essays*.)

P. 63, l. 7. **Conway.** Henry Seymour Conway (1720-1795) gained some slight reputation in the Seven Years' War, and on his return to England entered the House of Commons. In 1765 he was Secretary of State under the Duke of Grafton; in 1772 was appointed governor of Jersey; and in 1778 was created commander-in-chief of the British army.

P. 63, l. 9. **Granby.** John Manners, Marquis of Granby (1721-1770), had commanded with honour during the Seven Years' War, and had greatly helped to gain the victory of Minden. After the peace of 1763 he retired into private life, greatly beloved by all ranks for his many virtues. The sign-boards of numerous inns even to this day attest his wonderful popularity.

P. 63, l. 11. **Sackville.** George Grenville, Viscount Sackville (1716-1785), had commanded the cavalry at the battle of Minden, but when the French were routed had disobeyed an order to charge the flying foe. This conduct was put down to cowardice, and the popular excitement was so great against him in England and Germany that Pitt cashiered him. During the administration of Bute he was restored to favour.

P. 63, l. 15. **Minden and Warburg.** Minden was

won by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who commanded the English, Hessians, and Hanoverians, on August 1, 1759; and the same general again defeated the French at Warburg on July 31, 1760.

P. 64, l. 26. **George Grenville.** His ministry (1763-1765) was made chiefly remarkable for the recklessness displayed in his struggle with the press, and the short-sighted arrogance and folly which drove the American colonies into revolt. Macaulay was of opinion that, on the whole, "the worst administration which has governed England since the Revolution was that of George Grenville," though he adds that "it was *the King* who urged the measures of coercion towards the refractory colonies" (*History of England*, i. 402). Burke, however, held that the worst was that of the Duke of Grafton. For a description of Grenville and his followers, see Burke's *Speech on American Taxation*, p. 146, Clarendon Press Series.

P. 64, l. 28. **That worthless demagogue Wilkes.** Wilkes (1727-1797) and his famous No. 45 of the *North Briton*, are too well known to need many words here. (See Green's *History of the English People*, p. 750.) As to the charge of profligacy, we may say that he was separated from his wife after a few years of married life; that, in 1763, he was prosecuted for printing an obscene poem, called an *Essay on Woman*, and that his attacks on the Court Cabal, as Burke calls it, were compounds of calumny, ribaldry, and Billingsgate, redeemed by occasional smartness—or, in the language of the House, "obscene and impious libels." Most of the effect of these last was due to their artful pandering to the impulses of popular prejudice. Burke, in his *Present Discontents* (Clar. Press, p. 57) does not seem to think so badly of the man and his writings as might have been expected.

P. 65, l. 2. **"Your Majesty will have another vote."** There is reference here to the party formed by the king with the object "of restoring to the crown that absolute direction and control which Charles I. and James II. had been forced to relinquish, and from which George I. and George II. had quietly abstained." (Earl Russell, Preface to *Bedford Corresp.* iii. p. xxix.) See also *Junius*, April 22, 1771, and Burke's celebrated pamphlet on *Present Discontents*, which is one long vigorous attack on the king's party.

P. 65, l. 21. **A Grampound election.** Grampound was a borough in Cornwall. For bribery and corrupt practices in it, in 1819, several persons were convicted, and among them Sir Manasseh

Lopez, who was sentenced by the Court of King's Bench to a fine of 10,000*l.*, and two years' imprisonment. Grampound was disfranchised in 1821. (See Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*.) "The current price of boroughs—for such is the corrupt state of the national representation in England, that this language is authorised by common use—was enormously raised by the rival plunderers of the East and of the West, who, by a new species of alchemy, had transmuted into English gold the *Blood of Africa* and the *Tears of Hindustan*. Many private fortunes were ruined, or materially impaired, by contests carried on with the utmost shamelessness of political depravity" (Belsham, *History of Great Britain* (1768), v. 268).

P. 66, l. 7. **The Sudder courts.** *Sudder* (Hin. *sadr*, "eminence," "chief") was a term applied in various significations, but principally to the courts of Sudder Adawlut, which were those of highest civil and criminal jurisdiction in all the presidencies, until amalgamated by recent law with the high courts in some of those divisions.

P. 66, l. 22. **Pigot.** Lord Pigot, governor of Madras. He was imprisoned by the members of his council in 1776, and died in confinement in 1777. As a civilian he had been in India forty years, and had amassed a fortune estimated by Mr. Watts at 400,000*l.*

P. 67, l. 27. **As Clive once said,** &c. Describing the temptations of an Indian official, Clive says: "Now the banyan (native trader and money-lender) is the fair lady to the Company's servant. He lays his bags of silver before him to-day; gold to-morrow; jewels the next day; and if these fail, he then tempts him, in the way of his profession, which is trade . . . In short, flesh and blood cannot bear it." (*Speech on East India Judicature Bill*, March 30, 1772.)

P. 68, l. 2. **The Roman proconsul.** Lucius Licinius Lucullus (see note, p. 116). "Subterraneous caves and passages were dug under the hills on the coast of Campania, and the sea-water was conveyed round the house and pleasure grounds, where the fishes flocked in such abundance that not less than 25,000 pounds' worth were sold at his death" (Lemprière).

P. 68, l. 6. **The Spanish viceroy.** This seems to be a general reference. If Macaulay meant to refer to any particular viceroy, it was probably Hernando Pizarro, governor of Cusco, and brother of the great Francisco (Prescott, iii. 27), or Cortez, whose

arrival at court with great pomp, in 1528, is mentioned by Helps (*Spanish Conquest*, iii. 168).

P. 68, l. 9. **Sumpter-horses.** From Gr. *σάρτω*, to pack close, or to load, was formed *σάρμα*, a pack-saddle, or load. We have then, Lat. *sagma*, *salma*, It. *salma*, *soma*, Ger. *saum*, a burden; It. *somaro*, Fr. *sommier*, Ger. *saumer*, a sumpter or pack-horse (Wedgwood's *Dictionary*).

P. 68, l. 14. **They pulled down their creature Meer Jaffier.** In July 1760, Meeran, the son and heir of Meer Jaffier, died. In spite of his profligacy he had been the mainstay of the government of Moorshedabad, and his death brought on an immediate crisis. Meer Jaffier lost the little reason he ever possessed, and the administration fell into a state of complete anarchy. To remedy matters the imbecile Nabob was deposed, and his son-in-law Meer Cossim set up in his place. As the price of his elevation the new Nabob ceded to the Company the districts of Chittagong, Midnapore, and Burdwan, which were then estimated to furnish a third of the revenue of Bengal, besides promising to make good all arrears, and bestowing a gratuity of 200,000*l.* on his benefactors. Despite the vigour of the new administration, however, matters went from bad to worse, for the exorbitant demands of the Company and its servants had ruined the finances of the province. In 1763 matters again came to a crisis. On July 19, Meer Cassim's troops were defeated at Cutwa; on the 24th Moorshedabad was occupied, and Meer Jaffier, a hopeless imbecile and crippled with leprosy, was once more created *subahdar*. On August 2, a decisive battle was fought at Gheriah, in which the English, though victorious, experienced the staunchest resistance they had yet met with. This reverse threw Meer Cassim into an uncontrollable fury. Ramnara Yun, the deposed governor of Patna, was cast into the Ganges with a weight round his neck. Raja-raj-bulub, the former governor of Dacca, was put to death with all his sons. The Moorshedabad bankers, the Setts, were drowned. This occurred at Oodwanulla. Early in November the English advanced upon and carried the entrenched camp at this post, and Meer Cassim fled to Patna. But before his departure he ordered the massacre of Mr. Ellis, the Company's agent at Patna, Mr. Amyatt, another agent, and about 150 other British subjects, 50 of whom were officers in the civil or military service. Then the infuriated and desperate Nabob evacuated his capital, and, flying before the vengeance of the British army, at last took refuge within the territories of the Viceroy of Oude.

P. 69, l. 10. **They found the little finger, &c.** A reference to 1 Kings xii. 10. The whole passage is a model of succinct clear narrative. Not a single point of importance is omitted, not one insignificant detail inserted; while the real cause of the evils is touched with that severe indignation with which the thought of injustice always inspired Macaulay, rousing in him an eloquence which is then like the indignant eloquence of Burke.

P. 69, l. 35. **The Mussulman historian of those times.** Seid Gholam Hosein Khan, the author of the *Sujar-ul-Muta-akhirim*, or "View of Modern Times"), (or, more literally, "Manners of the Moderns"), an account of the last seven emperors of Hindustan, and of the English wars in Bengal down to 1783. The passage quoted will be found on p. 107 of vol. ii. of the renegade Frenchman, Mustafá's, translation. The passage commencing "O God! come, &c." is a quotation from the Kurán, often in the mouths of the afflicted.

P. 70, l. 23. **The Sepoys could only be kept, &c.** The first Sepoy mutiny took place about the middle of the year 1764 at Patna. It was put down by Major Munro, who blew twenty men from the guns. At intervals other mutinies followed, generally just after a successful campaign, when the troops were least amenable to reason.

P. 70, l. 34. **Verres and Pizarro.** Caius Verres was prætor of Sicily, B.C. 74-72. The oppression and rapine of which he was guilty, while in office, so offended the Sicilians that they brought an accusation against him before the Roman Senate. Cicero undertook the cause of the Sicilians, and pronounced the first of those celebrated orations (the second was not delivered) which are so well known in connexion with his name. Verres perished in the proscription of B.C. 43. For Pizarro, see note, p. 100.

P. 72, l. 17. **In a private letter, &c.** To General Carnac, dated May 6, in which he describes the proceedings in the Council on May 5, 1765. His voyage out had taken a year.

P. 73, l. 26. **He had chosen the good part.** Luke x. 42.

P. 75, l. 32. **Has been accused by historians.** Mill, with a narrowness of view somewhat surprising, calls Clive's arrangement "a proceeding in its own nature shameful" (*History*, iii. p. 412), an opinion which Wilson, in a note, severely condemns. Mr. Thornton (*History*, i. p. 503) takes the same view as Mill, which is

likewise founded on a misconception of the possibilities of Clive's position. There is an elaborate defence in chap. xvi. of his *Life*, and he himself, in his speech of March 30, 1772, gives weighty reasons for his conduct. Some idea of the value of the salt monopoly at that time may be gathered from the following. The profits were to be divided in equal shares : the governor was to have one ; another was to be divided among the members of Council ; another among the colonels of the first rank, chiefs of factories, &c. ; a fourth among field officers, chaplains, &c., and so on. And, notwithstanding all this division, Clive estimated a colonel's portion of a share at not less than 7,000*l.* per annum. Sir George Campbell, writing in 1852, says, " It thus appears that from salt government derives a very large and increasing revenue of upwards of two and a half millions sterling, very much to be depended on " (*Modern India*, p. 384). The government monopoly in this trade was finally abolished in May 1863 by Sir Charles Trevelyan, Macaulay's brother-in-law.

P. 77, l. 17. **One of the conspirators was accused,** &c. Lieutenant Stainsforth was reported to Clive as having expressed an intention to put his lordship to death rather than see the conspiracy broken up. Lord Clive refused to take any public notice of the threat, and only once referred to it in an address to the troops at Monghir, when he used the words quoted by Macaulay. Mr. Stainsforth was not, however, restored to the service. The most conspicuous of the officers cashiered was Sir Robert Fletcher, who, however, eventually contrived to regain the favour of the Company, and, in 1775, managed to carry his mutinous designs to a more successful issue against Lord Pigot, governor of Madras, whom he seized and placed in arrest. The special cause of the mutiny was the stopping of *batta*, or field allowance to the officers, which, from being at first allowed to troops during a campaign, had become permanent, or almost so.

P. 77, l. 24. **The Nabob of Oude with a large army,** &c. It should be remembered that Sujah-ud-Dowlah, the Nabob Vizier of Oude, had been severely defeated by Major Munro at the battle of Buxar, October 23, 1764—a victory almost as important as that of Plassey (see note, p. 100). The capture of Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and of Alláhábád, and a second defeat at Corah, induced him to throw himself on the mercy of General Carnac and the English authorities. Clive evinced the greatest moderation in restoring to him his forfeited kingdom, with the exception of the

districts of Corah and Alláhábád, which were reserved for the Emperor. From the Emperor, in return for these districts, Clive requested and obtained that the *dewanny*, or financial management, of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which had been repeatedly offered, should be conferred on the English by an imperial firman. The act was completed on August 12, 1765—a memorable day in the history of British India.

P. 78, l. 5. **Ricimers.** Count Ricimer was Patrician of Rome in the fifth century. As a commander of the barbarian forces in the service of the Roman Emperor he obtained great reputation. He was sent in A.D. 456 against Genseric, and destroyed the fleet of the Vandals off Corsica. Soon after he deposed the Emperor Avitus. For some months he governed with the title of Patrician, and in 457 raised Majorian to the throne of the West. In 461 Majorian was deposed and put to death, and Ricimer proclaimed Libius Severus emperor in his stead. On the death of Severus, in 465, Anthemius became emperor, and his daughter was given in marriage to Ricimer. But in 472 the patrician quarrelled with his father-in-law, and defeated and slew him. Ricimer died in the same year.

P. 78, l. 5. **Odoacers.** Odoacer, the son of one of Attila's officers, was the first barbarian king of Italy, having been elected by the confederate army, which he commanded, in 476. He defeated the Patrician Orestes at Pavia, banished his son Romulus Augustulus, the last Roman Emperor of the West, and established the seat of his kingdom at Ravenna. In 489, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, invaded Italy and three times defeated Odoacer. He then besieged Ravenna for three years, and at length compelled Odoacer to share the kingdom with him. But after a few days Odoacer was assassinated by his conqueror, in 493. Theodoric (455-526) had been reared at the court of Leo, Emperor of the East, and had obtained great knowledge in the art of war. He became king of the Ostrogoths in 475, and was for some time the ally of the Emperor Zeno, who lavished honours and rewards upon him. But in 488 he took up arms against the Emperor, invading Thrace and threatening Byzantium, and compelled Zeno to sign a humiliating treaty. From 493 till his death he reigned as king of Italy at Ravenna.

P. 78, l. 27. **The last drivelling Chilperics and Chilperics.** The first Chilperic, king of Soissons (afterwards Neustria), a most vicious man, died in 584; the second, also a king of Neustria, was subjugated by Charles Martel, and died in 720.



Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread.  
 And raised thyself, a greater, in their stead?  
 Gone thither armed and hungry, returned full,  
 Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,  
 A despot big with power obtained by wealth,  
 And that obtained by rapine and by stealth?  
 With Asiatic vices stored thy mind,  
 And left their virtues and thine own behind,  
 And, having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee,  
 To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee?

*Expostulation, 369-376.*

Compare also *The Task*, ii. 1-285, and Lord Chatham's speech, January 22, 1770: "The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government." (See also note to p. 65, l. 21.)

P. 84, l. 1. **Such as far as we can judge**, &c. Compare Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Clar. Press edition, p. 53) where he says that the House of Commons will be able to preserve its greatness "as long as it can keep the breakers of law in India from becoming the makers of law in England."

P. 84, l. 22. **Sybarite**. Sybaris was a Greek colony founded in Southern Italy about 720 B.C., and destroyed by the Crotonians in 510 B.C. Its inhabitants were greatly addicted to luxury, and hence the term *Sybarite* came to be applied to luxurious people in general.

P. 84, l. 28. **Sir Matthew Mite**. A character in Foote's play *The Nabob* which appeared at the Haymarket Theatre in 1772. Sir Matthew is generally supposed to have been meant for Clive's friend, General Smith. Foote's moral, as spoken by Mr. Thomas Oldham at the end of the play, is that "whoever keeps his post, and does his duty at home, will be found to render his country best service at last."

P. 85, l. 27. **William Huntingdon**. William Huntingdon (not Huntingdon), (1744-1813), S.S., was a Calvinist dissenting preacher, and a notorious impostor, who by his tricks gained much popularity amongst the foolish. His best known works were *The Arminian Skeleton*, and *The Bank of Faith*. Concerning his title he wrote, "As I cannot get a D.D. for want of cash, neither can I get a M.A. for want of learning; therefore I am compelled to fly for refuge to S.S., by which I mean 'sinner saved.'"

P. 87, l. 16. **Adam Smith**. Adam Smith (1723-1790) is best known as the author of *The Wealth of Nations*, whose main

principle is that *labour*, and not land nor money, is the real source of wealth. It was published in 1776, and one of its great objects, viz. *Free trade*, was accomplished in England by the abolition of the corn laws (1846), and the commercial treaty with France (1860), chiefly through the instrumentality of Richard Cobden. In the *Wealth of Nations*, bk. iv. chap. 7, he says of the East India Company that "the private trade of the servants tends to stunt the natural growth of every part of the produce in which they choose to deal" . . . . " (their monopoly) tends to reduce the quantity of every sort of produce, even that of the necessities of life, whenever the servants of the Company choose to deal in them, to what those servants can afford to buy and expect to sell with such a profit as pleases them." It is only fair to add that, though blaming the officials, he allows that "they have acted as their situations naturally directed, and they who have clamoured loudest against them probably would not have acted better themselves."

P. 89, l. 1. **Lord Rockingham.** The first ministry of Charles Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham, was in 1765, and he was prime minister again in the year of his death, 1782. Burke, in his pamphlet on *Present Discontents*, endeavoured to prove that the old Whig system, revived and worked by the Rockingham party, to which he himself belonged, would be more to the king's personal advantage than any other. For an account of this period and its chief characters, see Macaulay's *Essay on the Earl of Chatham*.

P. 90, l. 24. **He described in vivid language, &c.** In the speech (March 30, 1772) already quoted his words are—"Consider the situation in which the victory of Plassey placed me. A great prince was dependent on my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and jewels." (See Gleig's *Life of Lord Clive*, p. 297.)

P. 91, l. 32. **Bruce the deliverer of Scotland, &c.** It would be unfitting to dwell too strongly on the faults and blemishes of these great men, in whom the good so far outweighs the bad. It would be well, indeed, if contemporaries could judge with the impartiality of posterity; but this is impossible. It would have been well, too, if Lord Macaulay himself could occasionally have viewed with the eyes of a contemporary the men whom he praises or reviles; perhaps his judgments would then have been sounder. "Every schoolboy knows" the crime of Bruce. The great blemish on the

name of Maurice, Duke of Saxony (1521-1553), was his self-seeking and temporising conduct, before he finally espoused the cause of the Protestants, and drove Charles V. out of Germany. William "the Silent" (1533-1584), on whose character historians so differ, is pronounced by Motley (*Rise of the Dutch Republic*, i. 239) to be guiltless of the charges "which made him the murderer of his first wife, a common conspirator against Philip's crown and person, and a crafty malefactor, in general, without a single virtue." And he adds, with a justice which everyone will acknowledge, that "he accomplished a task through danger, amid toils, and with sacrifices, such as few men have ever been able to make on their country's altar" (*ibid.* iii. 602). The massacre of Glencoe stained the name of William III. James Stuart, Earl of Murray, treated his sister and queen with a cold cruelty. Cosmo de' Medici (1519-1574), grand-duke of Tuscany, though he restored literature and the fine arts to Italy, had won his power at Florence by torture and secret assassination. Henry of Navarre was as distinguished for the licentiousness of his private life, and the versatility of his faith, as in his public acts he truly deserved the name of Great. Peter the Great (1672-1725), Czar of all the Russias, though of such wonderful ability in public life, was to the end a coarse, brutal savage, wallowing in drunkenness, and revelling in the torture of his victims. It is somewhat surprising that Macaulay should have placed him in so honourable a list, however great his achievements may have been.

P. 92, l. 14. **Knight of the Bath.** This order is said to be of very early origin, but it was not formally constituted till 1399 by Henry IV., two days before his coronation in the Tower. He conferred the order on forty-six esquires, who had watched with him the night before, and had bathed. After the coronation of Charles II. the order was neglected till May 1725, when it was revived by George I. A very fine description of Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey will be found in Washington Irving's well-known *Sketch Book*. Clive's installation took place June 15, 1772. On October 9 of the same year he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Salop, and, in the following December, of Montgomeryshire also.

P. 92, l. 22. **At length the charges came, &c.** On April 8 and 21, Colonel Burgoyne had brought up the third and fourth reports of the Committee, and on May 10 called the attention of the House to them, declaring that they contained an account of crimes shocking to human nature. He stated that all disasters in

the East could be traced to the dethronement of Suraj-u-Dowlah, a crime of the blackest perfidy. He touched severely on the affair of Omichund, and the immense sums which the Select Committee of Calcutta had received, which were in reality not presents, but the extortions of military force. He concluded by moving the following resolutions : (i.) "That all acquisitions made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign princes, do of right belong to the state. (ii.) That to appropriate acquisitions so made to the private emolument of persons entrusted with any civil or military power of the State is illegal. (iii.) That very great sums of money and other valuable property have been acquired in Bengal, from princes and others of that country, by persons entrusted with the civil and military powers of the State, by means of such powers, which sums of money and valuable property have been appropriated to the private use of such persons" (*Life of Clive*, iii. 320, &c.) Sir William Meredith seconded Burgoyne's motion.

P. 93, l. 1. **Warren Hastings.** For an account of Warren Hastings (1732-1818) and his famous trial, see Macaulay's Essay.

P. 93, l. 23. **The previous question.** Termed by May (*Parliamentary Practice*) an ingenious mode of avoiding a vote on any question which is proposed. When a question is about to be put by the Speaker, a member may interfere by moving that the same question "be *now* put ;" and if this is negatived, then the main question cannot be put at that time. This method is attributed, probably incorrectly, to Sir Harry Vane.

P. 93, l. 25. **Wedderburne moved**, &c. Wedderburne, who was at this time Solicitor-General, in concert with Mr. Fuller, ably defended Clive, and through their influence, on May 22, the following modified motion was carried :—"That certain sums (enumerated) had been obtained by Lord Clive on the establishment of Meer Jaffier ; and that Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country." He is not censured for receiving the sums, though no doubt censure was implied.

P. 93, l. 33. **Jenkinson.** Charles Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool (1727-1808), was a very conspicuous figure during the whole of the reign of George III., and for the greater part of it shared the obloquy which attached to all the confidential friends of the Bute administration. He was one of the "King's friends" on whom Burke was so sarcastic and severe in his pamphlet on *Present Discontents* (1770). Never perhaps did party animosity run higher than during this period.

P. 94, l. 20. **The contrast struck Voltaire.** François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694-1778), the celebrated French Deist, distinguished as poet, historian and philosopher, was a man who destroyed more ideas, good and bad, than any other single individual who ever lived. In his *Essay on Addison*, Macaulay draws a remarkable comparison between Swift, Addison and Voltaire, "the three most eminent masters of the art of ridicule during the eighteenth century;" and in his *Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes*, and on *Frederick the Great*, again sketches the character of Voltaire and his compeers. Carlyle says of him: "Here too it is not greatness, but the very extreme of expertness, that we recognise; not strength, so much as agility; not depth, but superficial extent. That truly surprising ability seems rather the unparalleled combination of many common talents, than the exercise of any finer or higher one; for here too the want of earnestness, of intense continuance is fatal to him. He has the eye of a lynx; sees deeper at the first glance than any other man; but no second glance is given" (*Essay on Voltaire. Foreign Review*, 1829, No. 6).

P. 94, l. 24. **Dr. Moore.** John Moore (1730-1802) was a physician and the father of Sir John Moore of Corunna, and was surgeon to the English ambassador at Paris. In 1772 he took his degree as physician, and then spent five years in travelling on the continent with the Duke of Hamilton. His best known works are *A View of Society and Manners in France, Germany and Switzerland*, a novel, *Zeluco*, and *A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution*. In his *Essay on Croker's Boswell's Life of Johnson* Macaulay again refers to Dr. Moore, comparing Johnson's remarks on society to those of Tom Dawson, an English footman in *Zeluco*.

P. 95, l. 7. **Which rejoiceth exceedingly, &c.** "(The bitter in soul) rejoice exceedingly, &c." (Job iii. 22). Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, strings together several like sayings, on p. 721, edition 1845.

P. 95, l. 8. **While still a writer at Madras, &c.** This story is given by Sir John Malcolm, in his *Life of Lord Clive*, i. 45, but he does not vouch for its accuracy. There seems, however, no reason to doubt its probability. It is quite in keeping with the rest of his conduct at that time.

P. 95, l. 29. **It was said that he would sometimes, &c.** The anecdote is taken from Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, chap.

xii., Dr. Robertson, the historian, telling it in a conversation with Johnson. Johnson's remark is worth recording: "and yet this man cut his own throat! The true strong and sound mind can embrace equally great things and small."

P. 96, l. 10. **He died by his own hand.** There are many accounts of the manner of Clive's death. Lord Stanhope, on the authority of Lord Shelburne, says that he cut his throat with a pen-knife. Horace Walpole, writing to Lady Ossory, says, on the authority of Dr. Fothergill, that he died from an over-dose of laudanum, against which he had been specially warned. This account seems the more probable one, and that given in the *Life of Clive*, though carefully guarded, seems to point to the same cause. He says: "It is probable that the excessive acuteness of the paroxysms of pain, arising from the gall-stones, combined with the effects of the medicine, which he had used, acting on his feverish irritability, led to the melancholy event which ensued" (*Life of Clive*, iii. 372). Shortly after the death of Clive a book appeared under the title of *The Life of Robert Lord Clive, &c. with anecdotes of his private life with the particulars (sic) circumstances of his death*. By "Charles Caraccioli, Gent." It is a *very* scarce book, but through the kindness of Dr. Röst, of the India Office Library, I have been able to get at it. To quote Sir John William Kaye's words (*Academy*, April 29, 1876), "This book has the distinction of being the worst book ever written." It is made up of copious extracts from papers of ready access, interspersed with personal anecdotes, generally of a prurient character. As Sir J. W. Kaye says, "It has all the appearance of being the joint composition of a discarded or disappointed valet and a bookseller's hack." The sanctimonious charity and grand literary style of the following extract rewarded me for my somewhat unpleasant task of perusal: "As none but the supreme searcher of hearts can judge of the motives of human actions, we do not presume to ascertain whether it was a fit of insanity, or through hurry and inexperience in the art of shaving, that he unfortunately cut the jugular vein . . . How it was contrived to avoid the disgraceful inquisition of the coroner, and how further proceedings were stopped, is too delicate and nice a point for me to discuss. When the undertaker came to put the corpse in the coffin, he was reprimanded for his curious inspection." No one, I think, will be likely to dispute the right of Charles Caraccioli to the now unenviable abbreviation of "Gent."

P. 96, l. 34. **Ghizni.** Ghizni, or Ghazni, in Afghanistan, was

one of the strongest fortresses in Asia. The English, under Sir John Keane, attacked and took this stronghold in three hours, on July 23, 1839 (the year before Macaulay's Essay was published in the *Edinburgh Review*). It capitulated to the Afghans in March 1842, who were defeated in September of the same year, and General Nott entered the fortress on the next day (September 7).

P. 97, l. 3. **Alexander, Condé, and Charles XII.** Alexander the Great fought and won the battle of the Granicus (B.C. 336) at the age of twenty-two. Lysimachus was his great instructor in the art of war. Prince Condé at the same age totally defeated the Spaniards at Rocroi, in 1643. Charles XII. of Sweden, at the age of eighteen heavily defeated the Russians at Narva in 1700. All these battles were decisive. Napoleon Buonaparte entered the army at the age of 16, and at the age of 20 began to distinguish himself. Four years later he commanded the artillery at the memorable siege of Toulon (1793).

P. 97, l. 23. **Those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes.** Antiochus Asiaticus, king of Syria, was conquered by Pompey in B.C. 65. Tigranes, the ruler of Armenia, and son-in-law of Mithridates, was totally defeated by the Roman general, Lucius Licinius Lucullus in B.C. 69, and three years later laid his crown at the feet of Pompey.

P. 98, l. 12. **Munro, Elphinstone, and Metcalf.** Sir Thomas Munro (1760-1827) was governor of Madras in 1820. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone (1778-1859), governor of Bombay (1819-1827), and historian, was one of the most celebrated of British Indian statesmen. Lord Metcalf (1785-1846) took charge of a mission to the court of Lahore in 1808. In 1835 he acted provisionally as governor-general between Lord W. Bentinck's resignation and the arrival of Lord Auckland. He afterwards filled the posts of governor of Jamaica and governor-general of Canada.

P. 98, l. 21. **Lucullus and Trajan.** Lucius Licinius Lucullus (B.C. 115-57), consul and commander, was celebrated for his military talents and his luxurious style of living. He conquered both Mithridates of Pontus and Tigranes of Armenia. Marcus Ulpius Trajanus (A.D. 52-117), the wisest and best of all the emperors of Rome, greatly distinguished himself as a general by his conquests of the Dacians and Parthians. He was no less distinguished in the civil works which he accomplished, amongst which may be mentioned the great road across the Pontine Marches.

P. 98, l. 23. **Turgot.** Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1727-1781), controller-general of finance to Louis XVI., was a man as distinguished for his abilities as for the earnestness of purpose with which he set to work to produce "a pacific French Revolution"—an endeavour so eloquently described by Carlyle. His absolute failure only added glory to his attempt.

P. 98, l. 25. **Lord William Bentinck.** Lord William Henry Cavendish Bentinck (1774-1839) was the first governor-general of India, being appointed in July 1828. He retired in 1835. He "was sent out expressly charged to remedy the grievous financial embarrassment of the former government, and he was most successful. From 1829 to 1838 it has been seen that India enjoyed profound peace. Our empire being supreme within the desert, our frontier narrow, and Runjeet Sing friendly, we attained a financial prosperity unknown before or since. Lord W. Bentinck not only got rid of the deficit, but created a large surplus" (Campbell's *Modern India*, p. 414). One of Lord W. Bentinck's last acts was to abolish the suttee, or ceremony of burning a widow on the funeral pile of her husband. Writing to Mr. Napier, the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, in November 1839, Macaulay says, "I cannot consent to leave out the well-earned compliment to my dear old friend Lord William Bentinck, of whom Victor Jacquemont said, as truly as wittily, that he was William Penn on the throne of the Mogul, and at the head of 200,000 soldiers." On which Mr. Trevelyan remarks: "Lord William Bentinck, since his return from India, had taken an active, and sometimes even a turbid, part in politics as member for Glasgow. Those who will turn to the last words of the *Essay on Lord Clive* will understand Mr. Napier's uneasiness at the notion of placing on so conspicuous a literary pedestal the effigy of one who, for the time, had come to be regarded as the radical representative of a large Scotch constituency is apt to be regarded during a period of Conservative reaction" (*Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ii. 77).



# GLOSSARY.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

|         |                  |         |                       |
|---------|------------------|---------|-----------------------|
| A. S.   | = Anglo-Saxon.   | Grk.    | = Greek.              |
| Du.     | = Dutch.         | It.     | = Italian.            |
| Dan.    | = Danish.        | Lat.    | = Latin.              |
| E.      | = English.       | L. Lat. | = Low Latin.          |
| O. E.   | = Old English.   | N.      | = Norse or Icelandic. |
| Fr.     | = French.        | Ptg.    | = Portuguese.         |
| O. Fr.  | = Old French.    | Prov.   | = Provençal.          |
| Ger.    | = Modern German. | Sp.     | = Spanish.            |
| H. Ger. | = High German.   | Swed.   | = Swedish.            |
| L. Ger. | = Low German.    | Wal     | = Wallachian.         |
| Goth.   | = Gothic         |         |                       |

**Artillery.** In medieval Latin *ars* (*see* Du Cange) denotes the implement by which anything is done, especially one used in war. Hence we have Fr. *artiller*, to perform skilled work, and then to manufacture arms, whence O. Fr. *artilleux*, an artificer. *Artillerie*, L. Lat. *artillaria*, is given in Roquefort's *Romance Glossary* in the sense of equipment, furniture, as well as implement of war. In the Recognised Version we have: "And Jonathan gave his *artillery* to the lad," 1 Sam. xx. 40, where *bows and arrows* are meant. Littré quotes: "Lors fist Bertran venir la bonne artillerie, archiers, arbalastriers &c."—*Guescl.* 20,009. Like so many other words its meaning has come to be narrowed down, and it is now applicable to only one sort of warlike implement.

**Assassin.** The name by which the Ismailis (a Muhammadan sect) of Alamut and Massiat in Syria were designated in Arabic was "Hashishin," a word derived from the use of "hashish" or bang (see note, p. 107), with which Hassan-bin-Saba (1034-1124) and his successors, especially "the Old Man of the Mountain," subdued the souls and inflamed the energies of their disciples, whom they employed to murder or *assassinate* their enemies. Richard, Cœur de Lion, was accused of having dealings with "the Old Man," but was cleared, we are told, by a letter from him. The sect were long the terror of Syria and Western Asia, till in 1258 Alamut was taken and destroyed by Holagou, grandson of the great Zinghis Khân, and a few years afterwards Massiat and their other rock-fortresses were taken by the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt. [For an account of "the Old Man," see Colonel Yule's admirable edition of *Marco Polo*, Bk. I. ch. xxiii., xxiv., xxvi.]

**Bauble.** There are two words *bauble*. One, of Teutonic origin, and connected with the root *bab*, a lump, means *first*, an implement for flogging dogs, consisting of lumps of lead hanging from the end of a short stick; *secondly*, the staff used by a Fool, and ornamented with asses' ears.

The kynges foole  
Sate by the fire upon a stoole,  
As he that with his *bable* plaide.

Gower, *Conf. Aman.* vii.

The other is of Romance origin, and is the French *babiole*; L. Lat. *baubella*; O. Fr. *baubélet*; It. *babbolo*, a trifle, foolery, or a small toy. Littré is of opinion that this second contains the same root as Lat. *babulus*; It. *babbo*; E. *babe*, &c. [see **Booby**].

**Black-mail.** *Mail* denotes tribute or tax; A. S. *mál*; N. *mál*; O. H. G. *mahal*. "Black-mail, Ger. *blackmal*, was a tax paid by heritors or tenants, for the security of their property, to those freebooters who were wont to make inroads on estates." (Jamieson's *Dictionary*.) Black-mail was prohibited by Elizabeth in 1601, but continued to be exacted by the Highlanders from the Lowlanders till 1745. We also find that in Craik's *History of British Commerce*, i. 157, *black-money* or *black-mail* is said to have been the name given to certain base pieces—coins of inferior quality—authorised to pass current in Ireland in the 14th century.

**Booby.** It. *babbeo*, a simpleton; Sp. *bobó*, foolish. The root is *ba*, and occurs in French *baier*, *bler*; Lat. *badare*, to gape, whence *babaie*; Prov. *baban*, a booby; and in E. *babe*. An open mouth is not only a sign of uncontrolled surprise, but also a physical symptom of a weak intellect. Hence we get *gaby* from *gape*; and in French *badaud*, Prov. *badar*, from Lat. *badare* (Cotgrave). [See also **Bauble**.]

**Buffoon.** Fr. *bouffon*; It. *buffone*, a jester, derived from It. *buffa*, a puff; Ger. *puffen*, to puff. Puffing at a person being indicative of contempt, or perhaps puffing out the cheeks being a favourite trick of a clown, his name was derived from the action, or rather the sound of the breath leaving his lips. This is the opinion of both Diez and Littré. Buffoons (*scurrae*) were originally the mountebanks of the Roman stage, from which they were banished by Trajan in A.D. 98.

**By-law.** Originally the law of a particular town, Swed. *bylag*, from *by*, a borough or town having a separate jurisdiction. N. *byar-lög*; Dan. *bylove*, town-laws. Subsequently the name was applied to the *separate* laws of an association. (Wedgwood's *Dictionary*.) In the names of English towns *by* (=town) is a very common termination, e.g. Whitby, Spilsby, Rugby, &c.

**Byzant.** See note, p. 117.

**Cabal.** The Jews believed that Moses received in Sinai not only the law, but also certain unwritten principles of interpretation, called *Cabala* or Tradition, which were handed down from father to son, and in which mysterious and magical powers were supposed to reside. (*Dict. Etym.*) Hence the name of *caballing* was applied to any secret machinations, and a *cabal* to a conclave of persons secretly plotting together for their own ends. (Wedgwood's *Dictionary*, and Latham's edition of *Johnson's Dictionary*.) The following quotations bear on the old and mistaken derivation of the word. "This junto together with the Duke of Buckingham being called the *Cabal*, it was observed that *Cabal* proved a technical word, every letter in it being the first letter of those five—Clifford, Ashly, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale."—Burnet, *History of his own Time*.—"These ministers were therefore emphatically called the *Cabal*; and they soon made that appellation so infamous that it has never since their time been used except as a term of reproach. —Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. ii.

**Camelopard.** Lat. *camelopardalis*; Grk. *καμηλοπάρδαλις*, a

giraffe, supposed for some time to be the offspring of the *camelus* and the *pardus* or panther.

**Cargo.** Sp. *cargo*, the load of a ship. The root is a very common one in Aryan languages. Lat. *carrus*, a four-wheeled car; It. *carro*, *caricare*; Fr. *char*, *charger*; Ptg. *carregar*; Sp. *cargar*; N. *karra*; A. S. *cræt*; Celtic, *carr*. The literal meaning is therefore "a load (of a cart)," then a load of any kind of conveyance.

**Cashiered.** Fr. *casser*, *quasser*, Lat. *quassare* (connected with *quatere*), to break; also to *casse*, *cassere*, discharge, turn out of service (see Cotgrave's *Dictionary*); Dutch *kasseren*; Ger. *cassiren*; It. *cassare*. It is the same word as to *quash*, the older English form of which was *quaschin* (see *Prompt. Parv.*); *quashed* is used in Robert Manning's *History of England* (ed. Furnivall, 209, 9). In the sixteenth century *cash* was used instead of *cashier*. "That of the bandes under her majesties paie, such as shal be found weake and decayed to be *cashed*."—*Letter of the Earl of Leicester*, 1585.

**Chicanery.** Diez and Ménage derive this word from Lat. *ciccus*; Sp. *chico*; Fr. *chic*, *chiquet*; It. *cica*, a little bit, a trifle. The verb *chicaner* thus means to contest, to take every possible little advantage without regard to substantial justice. But Littré and Brachet are both of opinion that *chicane* represents a form *zicanum* (L. Lat.), which is from the medieval Greek *ῥικάνιον*, a word of Byzantine origin meaning the game of mall (modern croquet). *Chicane* thus means firstly the game of mall; secondly a dispute in the game; and lastly sharp practice in general.

**Cowed.** N. *kuga*; Swed. *kufva*; Dan. *kue*, to coerce, subdue, keep under, to depress with fear. This word is in no way connected with *coward*, which is the French *couard*; O. Fr. *couardaer*, to retire—from Lat. *cauda*, a tail. In fact a *coward* is one who puts his tail between his legs. See Littré's *Dictionary of the French Language*.

**Crimp.** See note, p. 111.

**Debauchery.** This word is derived from the O. Fr. *desbauche*, disorder. The radical meaning of the word seems to be "out of due course or rank"—*bauche*, a row or rank; Ger. *balcken*, a beam; A. S. *balca*. The word *balck* is often used in the northern dialects (see glossaries of the *English Dialect Society*), and in Lowland Scotch for "a narrow strip of land left unploughed," commonly as a boundary; it generally, however, means a rafter.

Cf. the term *balk* in billiards, meaning *a line*. Brachet derives *débaucher* from *bauche*, O. Fr. for a workshop, and gives for the meaning of *débauche* cessation from work, idleness.

**Diploma.** Grk. *δίπλωμα*, a *folded* document, from *διπλοῦν*, to fold double—hence a license, or charter.

**Donative.** Lat. *donativum*, a largess given by an emperor to his soldiers (see Smith's *Latin Dictionary*); *donum*, a gift. As in the case of *salary* (p. 116), Macaulay uses *donative* (p. 44) with peculiar appropriateness. "The Roman emperor's custom was at certain solemn times to bestow on his soldiers a *donative*."—Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

That all arrearages

Be paid unto the captains and their troops :

With a large *donative* to increase their zeal.

Massinger, *The Picture*, ii. 2

**Dunce.** The Scotists, or divines of the school of Duns Scotus (b. 1275), were called *Dunsmen* or *Duncemen*, and their teaching *duncery*. "A *Duns man* would make twenty distinctions."—Tyndall, *Works*, p. 88. When, through the progress of the Reformation, the learning of the schoolmen was brought into disrepute, the term became one of contempt, and equivalent to *blockhead*. "Void of all the dregges of *Dunse* learning and man's traditions."—*Confutation of N. Shaxton*. See Richardson's *Dictionary*.

**Finance.** In the forensic language of the Middle Ages the Lat. *finis* was specially applied to the termination of a suit, and was frequently used also to denote the settlement of a claim by composition or agreement. It was then transferred to the money paid as the price of the settlement, and the Lat. *finare*, *finire*, O. Fr. *finer*, were used in the sense of paying an exaction or composition. Hence *fine* in English and *finance* in French were used in the sense of a compulsory payment; and *finance* came to be extended in meaning till it stood for all moneys levied on the people for the behoof of the royal revenue, and lastly for all moneys whatsoever. See Wedgwood's *Dictionary*, and Littré's *Dictionary of the French Language*.

**Fiscal.** Lat. *fiscus*, a wicker-basket, a money-basket, a money-bag. Hence we have *fiscus* denoting the money-store or treasury of the emperor and then of the state, and *fiscalis* that which pertains to the treasury.

**Floria.** See note, p. 117.

**Freebooter.** A freebooter is one who without the authority of national warfare makes *free* to appropriate as *booty* (A. S. *bót*, N. *bót*; Goth. *bóta*) whatever falls under his hand. The name was especially given to the buccaneers who infested the coast of America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was pronounced by the French *flibustiers*, by the Spaniards *filibuster*. The latter is the name still used in America for pirates who plunder Spanish colonies. See Wedgwood's *Dictionary*.

**Garrison.** From Fr. *garnir*, It. *guarnire*, to provide, supply, deck (Cotgrave), are derived Fr. *garnement*, *garrison*; It. *guarnimento*, any garnishing, habiliment, munition, or provision of war (Florio). From these are derived O. E. *garment*, and *garnisón*, *garsons* (*Prompt. Parv.*), modern *garrison*, both in restricted senses. *Garnir* is the A. S. *warnian*, to beware of, to put one on his guard, from *war*, ware, cautious. The Romance form of the root *guar* or *gar*, and the Teutonic *war*, still exist side by side in many words in modern English, e.g. *guard* and *ward*, *guarantee* and *warrant*, &c.

**Harquebustier.** See note, p. 101.

**Jackass.** *Jacques*, being the commonest name in France, came to signify a common sort of fellow, and, being introduced into England as *Jack*, became the familiar synonym of *John*, which was and is the commonest English name. For its use as a term of contempt cf. *Rich. III.* i. 3 :

Since every *Jack* became a gentleman,  
There's many a gentle person made a *Jack*.

It came then to be the name of any male, and so denoted *sex*; also of a common servant who did rough work; and then of anything that had to do rough work—hence *jack-ass*. Cf. *jack-boot*, *boot-jack*, *jack o' the clock*, &c., in Nares' *Glossary*. See also Latham's edition of *Johnson's Dictionary*.

**Massacre.** This word has been derived from O. Fr. *macelier*, *macecier*, *macecier*, a butcher; Lat. *macellus*, a meat-market. Wedgwood endeavours to derive it from *masticare*. The most probable derivation is from Ger. *metzer*, a butcher; L. Ger. *matzen*, to cut; H. Ger. *metzgern*. See Littré's *Dictionary of the French Language*.

**Monopoly.** Grk. μονοπώλιον, the exclusive privilege of selling, from μόνος, sole, and πωλεῖν, to sell. Monopolies were so numerous

in England that parliament petitioned against them in 1601-2. It was finally decreed that none should be created by royal patent, 16 Chas. I., 1640.

**Naughty.** *Naught* (identical with *nought*) means "nothing;" A. S. *ne-ðwiht*, *nðwiht*, *nðht*. From "nothing" *naught* came to mean "good for nothing," "bad." So in the Bible we have (Jer. xxiv. 2) "naughty figs." Hood was probably unaware how good his pun was when he made Miss Kilmansegg think

That those who had *naught* were called *naughty*.

*Go and be naught* was commonly used in the older language as equivalent to *go and be hanged*. Cf. *As you like it*, i. i.

**Nickname.** This word is a corruption of an *eke-name*, an *additional* name; the *n* being run on in pronunciation, and the words being commonly written as one, the division was at a later time made in the wrong place. So we have *newt* for *an ewt*, *an eyas* for *a neyus* (Fr. *niais*, a nestling), &c. It is interesting to notice that in the patois-French of the West Indies the *s* of *les* has become distinctly the first letter of all nouns properly commencing in a vowel or an *h* mute, and is sounded like *s*, e.g. bird is *soiseau*, grass is *zerbe*.

**Panic.** Grk. *πανικόν* (*δειμα*), fear inspired by Pan. "The first author of it (general shout) was Pan, Bacchus's lieutenant-general in his Indian expedition; where being encompassed in a valley with an army of enemies far superior to them in numbers, he advised the god to order his men in the night to give a general shout; which so surpriz'd the opposite army that they immediately fled from their camp. Whence it came to pass that all sudden fears impressed upon men's spirits without any just reason were called by the Greeks and Romans *panick* fears." —Potter, *On Greece*, Bk. III. ch. viii.

**Pedlar.** *Peds* or *pads* in East Norfolk mean paniers (see Marshall's *Glossary*, 1787). The *Promptorium Parvulorum* explains *pedde* in the same way. A *peddare*, or *pedlar*, a packman, one who carries goods in a *ped* for sale. The market in Norwich was known as the "ped-market." The old Roman road from Holme to Ixworth was called "the Peddar Way." The form *pedlere* occurs in Langland's *Vision*, and in the Paston Letters (v. 58) we find Sir John giving orders for his instruments to be "trussed in a *pedde*."

**Pittance.** Diez derives this word from *pit*, small. Wedgwood very ingeniously, and on good grounds, gets it from *apitançant*, or *appétissant*, appetising. The medieval form of the word is *pictancia*, or *pitancia*, and its meaning the portion of food given to a monk at each meal—It. *pietansa*, *pitansa*; Sp. and Ptg. *pitansa* (see Du Cange)—then a small allowance in general. Littré thinks that the meaning of *pitance* has been greatly influenced by the very similar word *pietatem*. Brachet boldly derives it from *pietatem*. It is impossible to decide with absolute certainty, but the evidence brought forward by Wedgwood is much the strongest.

**Poltrone.** It. *poltrone*; Fr. *poltron*, a lie-a-bed, a lazy fellow, a scoundrel, from *poltra*, a bed. Cf. Ger. *polster*; E. *bolster*. Analogous to this word is the Fr. *paillard*, a lazy fellow, a rascal, from *paille*, straw. See Chambers's *Etymological Dictionary*, and Wedgwood's *Dictionary*.

**Rabble.** Du. *rabbelen*, to gabble; Swiss *räbeln*, to clatter; *räblete*, *gräbel*, an uproar, a crowd of people; Lat. *rabula*, a bawling advocate; It. *rabulare*, to prattle. See Wedgwood, who quotes from the *Faery Queene*:

And after all the raskall many ran  
Heaped together in rude *rabblement*.

**Ransom.** Fr. *rançon*; O. Fr. *raançon*, *raençon*, *raention*; Lat. *re-emptionem*, *redemptionem*, a buying back. *Redemptio* also meant a buying up, bribing, and a farming of the revenue; hence *rançonner* is given by Cotgrave as meaning also to extort, oppress; and *ransom* in Scotch had the meaning of an "extravagant price"—cf. Jamieson's *Dictionary*. "How can the puir live in thae times, when every thing's at sic a ransom?"

**Salary.** See note, p. 116.

**Sorcerer.** Fr. *sortier*. From L. Lat. *sortiare* (from *sors*, lot) was derived *sortiarius*, one who tells fortunes by lot; hence Fr. *sortier*; Sp. *sortero*; It. *sortiere*.

**Stipulate.** Lat. *stipulari*, to conclude a bargain, from *stipula*, a straw or stalk, this being emblematically used in making an engagement. "Veteres enim, quando sibi aliquid promittebant, stipulam tenentes frangebant."—Isid. *Hispal. Orig.* v. 24, quoted by Littré. "Their bargains (in the Isle of Man) are completed, and confirmed, by the giving and taking of as mean a matter as straw; as of old also 'per traditionem stipulæ,' from whence



the ~~peace~~ *of stipulation* came."—Sadler's *Rights of the Kingdom*, p. 175. 1649. The custom is not yet extinct in the West Indies.

**Sumpter-horses.** See note, p. 124.

**Sybarite.** See note, p. 130.

**Syllogism.** Gkr. συλλογισμός, a *reckoning* or *judging* of things brought together, a collecting of premises, an inference or conclusion drawn from premises (Lat. *præmissa*, things spoken of or rehearsed before). In a syllogism there must be three parts: *first*, the general statement, or *major* premise; *secondly*, the statement of the fact from which an inference is to be drawn, or the *minor* premise; *thirdly*, the inference itself: e.g. "All men are mortal"—*major premise*. "John is a man"—*minor premise*. "Therefore John is mortal"—*inference*.

**Trinket.** Fr. *tringuet*; It. *trindetto*; Ptg. *traquet*, the first of which Cotgrave gives as "the top, or top-gallant, of any mast; the highest sail of the ship." Compare "Suddenly with a great gust the *trinket* and the mizen were rent asunder."—Hackluyt, *Voyages*, lii. 411. It then seems to have been applied to the streamer or pennon at the masthead, and Florio gives *trinci* as "cuts, jags, or snips of garments." From "ornamental jags or tags of a garment" it came to mean ornamental trimmings in general. Trinket is more commonly derived from Wal. *trankot*; Fr. *triquenique*, a rattle, a trifle.

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